THE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT, BEING A PARTIAL TRANSLATION OF IBN 'ABD AL-HAKAM'S *FUTUH MISR* AND AN ANALYSIS OF THIS TRANSLATION

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SIGNED: Yasmin Hilpisch-wala

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my father and mother, who gave me unending support throughout my graduate career and especially during the writing of my dissertation.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation consists of two parts. Part one is a translation of the Egyptian history within the *Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. The *Futuh Misr*, as I refer to it in this dissertation, is a ninth century history written by the Egyptian historian/legalist, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. Its pages encompass the history of pre-Islamic Egypt, as Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam saw it, the conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain. The section on Egypt, and even North Africa and Spain, is one of the oldest histories we have dealing with this conquest.

The second half of this dissertation is an historical analysis of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history on the conquest of Egypt. Although at first glance the *Futuh Misr* does not seem to yield much useful information, it is surprisingly deceptive, particularly the Egyptian section. I have examined this section and have analyzed the contents to see what they reveal about the history of that time. From the themes that emerge, it is obvious that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's *Futuh Misr* not only provides useful information about the Arab conquest of 640 CE, but gives modern scholars an incite into the mentality of the author and his time period, and thus adds to our understanding of the attitude of historians during the medieval period in the Islamic world.

I. INTRODUCTION

Charles Cutler Torrey, an historian of biblical and ancient Near Eastern history, maintained that the ninth-century Arab-Egyptian historian, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and his history, *Futuh Misr wa-akhbaruha* (Egypt and its News, henceforth the *Futuh Misr*) was widely used as the starting point or basis for a number of later Egyptian historical works that are considered to be important to historiography. The later Arab-Egyptian historian al-Maqrizi (1364-1442) used the information from the *Futuh Misr* when writing about the early period in his history of Islamic Egypt entitled, *al-Khitat*. Quotations from al-Maqrizi are nearly identical to those in the *Futuh Misr*; one example is his account of the Arab capture and occupation of the town of al-Fayyum in western Egypt in the mid-seventh century (Butler, 1978, 219-20).[1] Among the available sources known to us today, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history is the earliest surviving source on the Arab conquest of Egypt, although undoubtedly his history was based on earlier works that are now lost. It is also the oldest work we have on the conquest of North Africa and Spain and on the first Arab settlements in Alexandria and al-Fustat.[2]

This dissertation consists of a translation and analysis of a portion of the *Futuh Misr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. I have examined how Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam interpreted the events of Egyptian history by analyzing the way he used the narratives upon which his work was based. Several major themes stand out that illuminate his objectives in writing this historical work. In this analysis I will demonstrate that, overall, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam wrote his history in order to praise Egypt and its Arab conquerors, and for the benefit of the descendants of those conquerors. A major theme in his work was the belief that Egypt was destined to be part of the Islamic world. Not only was it to be part of the Islamic world in general, but it was to be an important part historically and intellectually because of its own religious scholarship in *hadith* and *fiqh*.[3] Furthermore, the Egyptians that he was praising

in his history were the Arab Muslims who had conquered Egypt.[4] His pride in the Arab past and the Arab character was obvious, and reflected the social and racial turmoil of his day. Therefore, I will show how these different themes make his history valuable for examining the history of the conquest period, and for helping to understand the concept of history in the medieval period.

This dissertation is divided into two parts. The first part is a translation of the portion of the *Futuh Misr* that deals with the Arab conquest of Egypt and with the establishment of the early settlements in al-Fustat and Alexandria, which includes pages 45-168 in the 1922-Arabic edition of the *Futuh Misr*, edited by Charles Torrey. The second portion of the dissertation is an analysis of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's style, and of his interpretation of the conquest of Egypt.

The translation is as literal as possible in order to maintain the original style of the text. When a literal translation of the Arabic sacrificed intelligibility, I took a more liberal approach and indicated the literal meaning in a note. For the sake of smoother and more correct rendering in English, I have included words or phrases that were only implied in the Arabic original. Occasionally, when the implication was less obvious in the Arabic text, I added the English version in brackets. In addition, content citations and a glossary and biography page illuminate unfamiliar words or places, and indicate any uncertainties in the translation of the text.[5] Foreign words, but not names or titles, are in italics. I used the method of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, with a few alterations, for the transliteration of Arabic words. A "`" is used for the *hamzah* except in the initial position, and a " ' " is used for the '*ayn* symbol. An "h" is placed after the final "a" sound in words with a *ta`marbutah* attached to the end. However, I have not included the macrons that indicate long vowels, or the dots needed to distinguish the Arabic letters in English, for example, a "*sad*" versus a "*sin*". The Arabic words in the analysis portion of the dissertation are transliterated in the same way.

All dates given in the analytic section are based on the western calendar and not the Islamic *hijrah* calendar unless otherwise specified.[6] The dates in the translation are of course from the *hijrah* calendar. In my analysis, there are two major sections. The first is an analysis of the themes and goals that emerge as Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam narrated the history of the conquest of Egypt and the subsequent settlement of this area. The second section deals with his use of *hadith*s and *isnad*s, and with some of the criticisms leveled at him by modern historians.[7]

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and the *Futuh Misr*

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam

The author's full name was 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam ibn A'yan ibn Layth, Abu al-Qasim al-Qurashi. The author was known in the medieval chronicles as 'Abd al-Rahman, but is known in the modern era as Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam; for example, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* he is listed under Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. The modern rendering of his name is the version that I will use throughout the dissertation. He was born in 802 in Egypt and died in al-Fustat, Egypt, in 871. He was roughly a contemporary of the historian al-Baladhuri (d. 892) and the famous historian al-Tabari (d. 922).[8] By training, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam was an expert in tradition, or *hadith*s, rather than in history. He came from a line of scholars who were famous in Egypt for their knowledge of *hadith*s and *fiqh*, and who held prestigious positions there. *Fiqh* developed because not all problems of the Muslim community were dealt with in the Qur'an and the *hadith*s of the Prophet. This body of knowledge communicated regulations to later generations (Nogales, 1990, 1-3; Hitti, 1970, 396; Hodgson, 1974, 514). The author's father, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (d. 830), was a high-ranking *muhaddith*, who wrote books both on *hadith*s and *fiqh*.[9] He was head of the Maliki sect of law in Egypt as well. This sect was one of

four schools of law that developed in the late Umayyad and early 'Abbasid periods. The four schools eventually became the only interpretations of the law allowed in what is today called orthodox or *Sunni* Islam.[10] Malik ibn Anas (d. 795) of al-Madinah was the founder of the Maliki school. His writings were some of the earliest on *fiqh*. Although based on the Qur'an and the Sunnah, or example of the Prophet, his law book also recognized local Madinan tradition and the use of *ra'y* and *qiyas* to solve certain questions.[11] The Maliki sect dominated religious life in Egypt in the ninth and tenth centuries, and Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's family was prominently involved with this sect (Baker, 1990, 142-43).

'Abd Allah had four sons, all of whom became important in the legal professions in Egypt. The best known son, at least to the medieval world, was Muhammad, who was a jurist and author of numerous works that have since disappeared, such as his text books on Maliki legal teachings. He too was a leader of the Maliki sect of law in Egypt. In dealing with this educated family, later medieval authors emphasized 'Abd Allah and his son Muhammad over the rest, including Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. Ibn Hajar (1372-1449), a *qadi* of Cairo and author of a *tabaqat* , listed 'Abd Allah in his *tabaqat* as one of the most learned and trustworthy men in Egypt.[12] Ibn Hajar enumerated those who participated in the chain of information with 'Abd Allah. He also mentioned the books that 'Abd Allah wrote concerning decisions over which he presided. As for Muhammad, Ibn Hajar told us that many considered him to be peerless on the subject of the companions and followers of the Prophet. Ibn Hajar described Muhammad as a truthful and trustworthy *faqih* of Egypt and added that he was personally associated with the founders of two of the *Sunni* schools of law: al-Shafi 'i and Malik. In contrast, when Ibn Hajar discussed Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam he said that only the majority of the *hadiths* and other information on his authority were trustworthy and reliable. Finally, Ibn Hajar mentioned that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam wrote a history of Egypt and other places but did not elaborate on the details of the book, or give an opinion as to its validity (Ibn Hajar, 1968, 208, 260-61, 289-90).

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's family did not maintain its high status in Egypt throughout his life due to a change in the religious policy of the state. In the mid-ninth century the dogma of the Islamic empire underwent scrutiny, and was officially changed for a short period of time. The new dogma was based on the beliefs of the *Mu 'tazili* sect, and modern history books call it *Mu 'tazili*sm The change was initiated by the Caliph al-Ma`mun (813-833) and enforced by loyal *qadi*s and other *'ulama`*.[13]

The *Mu 'tazili*s were defenders of human reason and freedom in general terms. Their name means schismatics, or those who are separate, since they separated from the*Qadari*s due to a matter of faith.[14] They believed that God's will did not override the human will to act and make choices. They placed primary importance on the use of reason, and thus were in many ways the product of the great fervor for collection and translation of the Greek and Indian works on philosophy and science that took place in the 'Abbasid age. The *Mu 'tazilis* are classically known for several points. The two that pertain to this discussion were the *tawhid*, or absolute oneness of God, and *adl*, or divine justice. They rejected the anthropomorphic descriptions of God in the Qur`an and the uncreated nature of the Qur`an. God's having specific, definable features like a human being, and the existence of a book that was uncreated, would imply a sharing in the greatness and oneness of God. In terms of justice, the *Mu 'tazili*s believed that God would not punish someone for something He Himself had pre-determined. They claimed that free will was the real gift given by God to human beings and that they had the ability to choose their own path. Their view of sin was different as well. Only a rejection of faith was enough to banish someone from the community. It was morally imperative for believers to observe principles of freedom and responsibility in their relationships with the community and the environment.

Caliph al-Ma`mun espoused the *Mu 'tazili* doctrine later in his reign. Al-Ma`mun was an intellectual and well read in the documents being collected and translated by his scholarly institution in Baghdad, the *Bayt al-Hikmah* (House of Learning). He often held weekly

discussions with *'ulama`* and other religious leaders at his court. In addition to his proclamation of the *Mu 'tazili* doctrine as the official state doctrine, he issued a statement in strong preference of 'Ali over the other companions, indicating his *Shi 'i* leanings as well (Kasassbeh, 1994, 111-13).[15] In order to enforce the new dogma people had to be "converted" to the new ways. A board of inquiry called the *mihnah* was set up to question those who refused to conform. The *mihnah* was an inquisitorial tribunal for the trial and conviction of those who denied *Mu 'tazili* dogma. Al-Ma`mun asked his governor of Baghdad, Ishaq ibn Ibrahim, to direct the interrogations. The questioning centered on the createdness of the Qur`an. If the person under questioning did not admit that point, he was questioned further or tortured. The activities of *qiyas* and *ijtihad* were fully developed by al-Ma`mun's reign.[16] Practitioners of *qiyas* and *ijtihad* were also subject to interrogation as they posed a threat to the caliph's desire to control religious dogma. Al-Ma`mun even declared that he had the right to exercise *ijtihad* (Nawas, 1996, 705-7).

Scholars have disagreed about the reason for the *mihnah*. One theory is that al-Ma`mun promulgated the change in religious dogma to quell opposition to his authority particularly by the Khurasani factions, whom he had used during the civil war, who were angry at his reduction of the use of their forces and his subsequent exclusion of Khurasanis from army and government positions. To support this theory, one must assume that many of the victims of the *mihnah* were Khurasanis. However, there is no evidence that the majority of the hundreds of people questioned by the *mihnah* officials were Khurasanis. Another theory is that he wanted to reconcile the *Shi 'is* to the *Mu 'tazili* point of view and thus to his government. However, his newly defined his role as head or *imam* of the Islamic community was less authoritative than the *imam* of the *Shi 'is*, so it seems unlikely that the majority of the *Shi 'is* would have accepted this role. A third and to me probably the most convincing interpretation of the *mihnah* is that it gave the secular government control of religious matters. Spiritual control was an 'Abbasid goal from the moment of this

dynasty's inception and represented a significant expansion of caliphal power. Al-Ma`mun in particular wanted the caliph to be able both to determine policy and to interpret religious doctrine. It cannot be a coincidence that most of the men selected for interrogation were mature men of established repute in their communities. They were chosen in order to convey a message to other more impressionable members of the Muslim population (Nawas, 1996, 698-705).

The main targets of the *mihnah* were *muhaddiths*, *qadis*, court officials and other '*ulama*` who controlled the interpretation of proper behavior and Islamic laws. A *qadi* of Egypt, al-Harith ibn Maskin, refused to admit the point of a created Qur`an and was imprisoned until released by Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861) some twelve years later. The *mihnah* did not have the same strength in all places and at all times. Although the modern historian Kasassbeh mentioned that the interrogation in Egypt was not as common as in the central lands of the caliphate, it is documented in the records that the governor of Egypt killed scholars who refused to proclaim the created nature of the Qur`an (Kasassbeh, 1994, 115-23).

Therefore, the *mihnah* did threaten the intellectual and '*ulama*` class of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's day generally, and particularly his immediate family. Indeed, in 841 the author's brother Muhammad, a *faqih* revered in the eyes of the Egyptian population, was carried off to Baghdad to answer for his responses to the questions put forth by the director of the inquiry. Although he refused to conform to the *Mu 'tazili* doctrine of a created Qur`an, he was neither killed nor imprisoned, but sent back to Egypt.

A few years later in 851, the author's family again came under scrutiny, this time for reasons of suspected corruption. Years before, 'Abd Allah had been entrusted with part of the estate of a former governor and military leader, 'Ali ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz al-Jarawi, whose land and wealth had been confiscated by the government. In 851 the emissaries from Caliph al-Mutawakkil came to claim what was owed to the state treasury and found the

money missing. There was an inquest in which the decision went against Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's family. They were forced to pay 1,404,000 *dinars* in reparations. One brother, 'Abd al-Hakam, died under torture during the course of the trial. The rest of his family was released and their property returned; but, their reputations had been damaged (Torrey in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 2).

The *Futuh Misr*

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history was composed of several different sections which divided and discussed Egypt's history chronologically. The first section dealt with the merits of Egypt. It told the history of the biblical antiquities of Egypt. The text was made up almost entirely of the *hadiths* of the Prophet and the stories told by His companions and early Egyptian *muhaddiths* on the virtues and antiquities of Egypt. The second section recounted the Muslim conquest of Egypt and the establishment of the Muslim *khitat* and other early settlements.[17] The third section briefly described the post-conquest administration of Egypt and the invasion of North Africa and Spain. The information on the latter is sparse and much less detailed than that of the conquest of Egypt; much of it is vague and sounds as if the author was not quite as comfortable with his information as he was regarding Egypt (Jones in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1969, 5). The fourth and final section highlighted Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's true calling, the legal profession. It consisted of a list of the *qadis* of Egypt down to the year 860 with a short biography on each one. Following this list is a compilation of select religious *hadiths* from the companions who had followed 'Amr ibn al- 'As to Egypt. The companion-conquerors and other distinguished personalities who settled in Egypt were listed in approximate order of merit according to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's criteria. To each judge is ascribed the *hadiths* related on that individual's authority.

The technique of using *isnads* to authenticate information played a major role for sources throughout the work except in the section on the *khitat*. In the *khitat* section Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam relied on popular tradition and the common knowledge of the people of al-Fustat for his information (Torrey in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 6-7). I will discuss Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's use of *isnads* and *hadiths* in the second portion of the analysis. There is evidence that the author also used written sources, for example, a few treaties and the correspondence between Caliph 'Umar and 'Amr ibn al- 'As. In one section, he even mentioned a book passed on to him by one of his authorities, Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr. Finally, he alluded to a written work by al-Waqidi (d. 822) in the last section of his history (Torrey in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 3).

The Manuscripts

The Arabic edition of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history used for this translation was the 1922-edited version by Charles Cutler Torrey that he labeled by the English title of *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain*. In this section, I will discuss briefly the various manuscripts of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work that Torrey used to compose his edited volume.

When Torrey was putting together his edition of the *Futuh Misr* there were four known manuscripts, which were not quite identical, of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history. Another manuscript unknown to Torrey that was dated to 1136/37 and was published in 1961 by 'Abd al-Mun 'im 'Amir had been discovered in the Istanbul Fatih Collection.[18] According to archaeologist and scholar for the early Islamic period, Wladyslaw Kubiak who cited this version in his list of sources, the text is carelessly printed and contains only the historical sections, the section on judges and *muhaddiths* being omitted (Kubiak, 1987, 21). Torrey

based his edited text mainly on the manuscript located in the British Museum in London. It is not dated but contains evidence that it was written in the twelfth century CE. It is written in *naskh* script and diacritics and vowels are used sparingly.[19] According to Torrey's examination the marginal notes are in the same hand as the body of the text, indicating that the work came from a serious scholar and not a mere copyist. It was read several times to various recorders (a method of checking its accuracy), and a note in the manuscript told the reader that the transcriber of this work was present at one of those readings in al-Fustat, Egypt. The text was handed down in one of two ways through the same authorities as was the second of the two Paris manuscripts and the Leyden manuscript. It was either read by someone who transcribed the text during the reading to create a new copy, or it was passed on as an already written copy. Among those who passed on the written copies of the history was Ibn Qudayd (d. 924) who was a teacher of the Egyptian historian al-Kindi (897-924).[20] The order of the transmitters of the text are as follows: 'Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn Halaf ibn Qudayd Abu al-Qasim al-Jawhari al-Azdi to Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn al-Faraj Abu Bakr al-Qammah to 'Ali ibn Munir ibn Ahmad Abu al-Hasan al-Hallal (d. 1047) to Murshid ibn Yahya ibn al-Qasim ibn 'Ali Abu Sadiq al-Madani (d. 1123) to Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Abu Tahir al-Silafi al-Isbanhani, who died in 1180 and was the transcriber of the manuscript. The scribe who gave his name to the text of the manuscript in the British Museum mentioned that he had also seen a different version of the *Futuh Misr*. This other version had previously been read and copied before the time of Ibn Qudayd in the tenth century (Torrey in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 9-10).

Two manuscripts exist in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. The older of the two contains the date 1190. It is written in the flowing *naskh* script of a professional scribe. The diacritics are lacking in this manuscript as well. This version was supposedly handed down by Ibn Qudayd to his pupil, the historian al-Kindi, in the tenth century (Guest in al-Kindi, 1902, 10-11). The second manuscript is dated to 1375. It is a well executed work

with good calligraphy by a scribe who stated his name as Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Azhari al-Hanafi. However, according to Torrey the text is full of errors. He says there was often no attempt to understand the text, but rather it was simply copied from another written copy of the *Futuh Misr* (Torrey in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 12).

The last manuscript available to Torrey on Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's *Futuh Misr* is one known as the Leyden manuscript. This manuscript was falsely titled and it remained hidden for years until someone discovered that it was simply an abridgment of the *Futuh Misr*. According to Torrey, the text is in a legible *naskh* script, well supplied with diacritics, and is generally correct. In the opening, the scribe stated that the text was copied from a reading done in the presence of the scholar al-Silafi in Alexandria in 1174. This is the same scribe who transcribed the manuscript in the British Museum (Torrey in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 12-13).

Ibn Qudayd probably did not receive his text of the *Futuh Misr* directly from Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. The manuscripts that started with Ibn Qudayd and ended with al-Silafi in 1180 were generally faithful to the work of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, but there were mistakes that showed that they were handed down as a text done by a copyist and not as the original work itself. Torrey believed that the original copy was not an authentic autograph by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, but a later copy already corrupted with errors. For example, marginal notes or supplementary paragraphs were not always inserted in the right places, and in one instance a misplacement of a leaf led to the transposition and repetition of extended passages. There is no evidence that Ibn Qudayd was ever a pupil of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam nor that he received traditions orally from him. Indeed, his comments throughout the work are those of an editor and not of one who received dictation or information directly from a master (Torrey in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 17-19). Ibn Qudayd was eight years old when Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's family fell into disgrace. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam was forty-nine years old at this time, and one may doubt whether he took on any new students after his

family fell from favor. Torrey suggested that Ibn Qudayd received his copy of the *Futuh Misr* from a pupil of the discredited Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. This is interesting, because Ibn Qudayd would have known of the disgrace imposed on Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's family but despite this he obviously felt strongly enough about his work to transmit it.

Another possibility is that by the time of Ibn Qudayd's adulthood, the author's family had regained some of its honor and reputation. Indeed, al-Tabari, upon his visit to Egypt in 867, consulted with the leading authorities on Shafi 'ism and Malikism including with the Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam family, whose head at the time was Muhammad (Bianquis, et al., 11, 1998). The modern Middle East historian Rhuvon Guest, who has edited a volume of al-Kindi's history called *Kitab al-umara wa- al-qudah*, indicated that al-Kindi, who was a near contemporary of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, made frequent and direct use of the *Futuh Misr* but avoided citing it directly. Instead, al-Kindi preferred to cite a chain of authorities. Indeed, al-Kindi had used it as a basis for his monographs on *qadis* and the *khitat* and probably even in his *Akhbar masjid ahl al-raya* (Torrey in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 19-22).[21]

The following pages are my translation of the portion of the *Futuh Misr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam that deals with the conquest of Egypt. Following that translation is an analysis of the Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's interpretation of these historical events. In the analysis the references citing the translation are the page numbers of Torrey's edited text and not the numbers enumerating the physical pages of my translation which appear at the top right hand corner of the paper. All page numbers are cited parenthetically in the text.

II. TRANSLATION OF THE *FUTUH MISR*

The Letter of the Messenger of God, May God Bless Him and Grant Him Peace, to al-Muqawqas[1]

When it was the sixth year from the emigration of the Messenger of God and the Messenger of God had returned from al-Hudaybiyah, Hisham ibn Ishaq and others related to us that Muhammad sent letters to the kings. Asad ibn Musa.... to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Abd al-Qari, who related to me that the Messenger of God rose one day on the *minbar*, praised God and extolled Him and testified.[2] Then he said, "I want to send some of you to the kings of the non-Arabs, therefore, do not disagree with me as the Banu Isra'il disagreed with 'Isa ibn Maryam when God, be He blessed and exalted, instructed 'Isa to send to the kings of the earth and he sent disciples." And as for the countries close by, they were satisfied. As for the place far away, they were not happy. They said, "We do not know well the language of him to whom you have sent us." 'Isa said, "Oh God, I ordered the disciples to do what you ordered and they disagreed with me." So God revealed that he would solve it, and then everyone began speaking the language of him to whom he was sent. The emigrants said, "Oh Messenger of God, by God we will never disagree with you about anything, so command us and send us." So he sent Hatib ibn Abi Balta 'ah to al-Muqawqas, the master of Alexandria, and Shaja 'ah ibn Wahb al-Asadi to Khusraw. He sent Dihyah ibn Khalifah to Caesar, and 'Amr ibn al- 'As to the two sons of al-Julanda, the two princes of 'Uman. He mentioned the *hadith*[3]. Then we returned to the *hadith* of Hisham ibn Ishaq and the others who said that Hatib went with the letter of the Messenger of God. When he arrived at Alexandria, he found al-Muqawqas on the throne overlooking the sea.[4] Hatib had traveled by sea

to get there [**p.45**].

When he was opposite his seat, Hatib beckoned al-Muqawqas with the letter of the Messenger of God between his fingers. And when al-Muqawqas saw it, he demanded the letter. It was seized, and he commanded it be brought to him. When he read the letter he said, "What prevented him, if he were a prophet, from praying to God to punish me and taking power over me?" Hatib said to him, "What prevented 'Isa ibn Maryam from praying to God to punish whoever refused his orders? If he did this, it would be done." And al-Muqawqas was silent for an hour, then he repeated his question and Hatib repeated his response to him. Al-Muqawqas was quiet and Hatib said to him, "There was a man before you who claimed that he was the Almighty Lord and God sought vengeance on him and he used him to retaliate against others.[5] Learn from this example before you become an example yourself. Indeed, you belong to a religion which you will not abandon except for what is better than it, and that is Islam which makes the loss of another religion acceptable.[6] And there is none besides it; there is no prophecy equal to the one of Musa of 'Isa except the prophecy of 'Isa of Muhammad. Our summoning you to the Qur`an is nothing except like your summoning the people of the Torah to the Gospel. We do not forbid the religion of Christ, but we order you to it."[7] Then al-Muqawqas read the letter, "In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate from Muhammad, the Messenger of God, to al-Muqawqas, the great one of the Copts, peace on who follows the true path. I summon you to Islam. Surrender and you will be safe, and God will reward you two fold. Oh people of the Scripture, come to an agreement that we worship none but God, that we associate no partners with Him, and that none of us shall take another lord besides God.[8] Then, if they turn away say, 'bear witness that we are Muslims (surah 3:64).'" And when al-Muqawqas

had read it, he took it and put it in a box of ivory and sealed it. 'Abd Allah ibn Sa 'id al-Madhhiji.... to Aban ibn Sulh said that al-Muqawqas sent for Hatib one night while no one was around except an interpreter.[9] Al-Muqawqas said, "Will you not tell me about matters that I will ask you? I know that your master had chosen you when he sent you." The interpreter said, "Whatever you ask me, I will tell you the truth." He said, "What does Muhammad want?"[10] The interpreter said, "That you worship God, do not associate anything with him and forsake obedience to all others, and he ordered the prayer." Al-Muqawqas said, "How many times do you pray?" The interpreter said, "Five prayers throughout the day and night, fasting on the month of *Ramadan*, the pilgrimage to the House of God, faithfulness to the covenant, and he forbids the eating of carrion and blood."[11] Al-Muqawqas said, "Who follows him?" He said, "The youth of his people and others." Al-Muqawqas said, "And does he battle his people?" The interpreter said, "Yes." Al-Muqawqas said, "Describe him to me." The interpreter said, "And I described him but failed to mention one of his characteristics." Al-Muqawqas said, "I think you left out something.[12] His eyes are persistently red and between his shoulders is the seal of prophet. [**p.46**] He used to ride the donkey and wear the cloak. He was content to eat just dates and bread and was not concerned with whom he met by way of uncle and cousin."[13] The interpreter said, "You are right; this is his description." Al-Muqawqas said, "I have known that there was still another prophet, but I thought that he would come from Syria because the prophets before him had come from there. However, it turned out that he emerged in the Arab land, a land of misfortune and misery. The Copts will not obey me in following him, and I do not want them to know of my conversing with you." He will conquer the land and his companions will descend in our arena until they conquer what is here. The interpreter said, "Then I will not mention

any of this to the Copts." Al-Muqawqas said, "Return to your master." Then he returned to the *hadith* of Hisham ibn Ishaq, who said that al-Muqawqas called for a letter to be written in Arabic and it was written: "To Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah from al-Muqawqas, the great one of the Copts. Peace. I have read your letter and understood what it was you said and what you wanted. And I know there is still another prophet, but I had thought that he would appear in Syria. I have honored your messenger and sent you two slave girls who have a great standing among the Copts, and I have also sent you a robe. In addition I give you a she-mule for you to ride. Peace." Asad ibn Musa.... to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Abd al-Qari said that when Hatib took the letter of the Messenger of God, al-Muqawqas received the letter and welcomed Hatib. Then he sent him to the Messenger of God with a robe, a female mule with its saddle, and two slave girls, one of whom was the mother of Ibrahim. Muhammad gave the other slave girl to Jahm ibn Qays al- 'Abdari. She was the mother of Zakariya' ibn Jahm, who was the successor of 'Amr ibn al- 'As over Egypt. But it is said rather that he gave her to Hasan ibn Thabit, and thus she was called Umm 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan. And it is said to the contrary that the Messenger of God gave her to Muhammad ibn Maslamah al-Ansari. And it is said rather that she was given to Dihyah ibn al-Khalifah al-Kalbi. Al-Nadar ibn Salmah al-Sami.... to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan ibn Thabit on the authority of his mother, Sirin, who said, "I was present at [**p.47**] the death of Ibrahim. I saw the Messenger of God wherever I and my sister mourned and he did not forbid us to cry, but when he died he forbid us to cry." [14]

'Abd al-Malik ibn Hisham.... to Ya 'qub ibn 'Utbah who said that Safwan ibn al-Mu 'attal struck Hasan ibn Thabit with a sword.[15] Ibn Ishaq said that Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Tayyimi related to him that Thabit ibn Qays ibn Shammas attacked

Safwan ibn al-Mu 'attal because he had struck Hasan, and Shammas tied his hands to his neck with a rope. 'Abd Allah ibn Rawahah met Thabit ibn Qays and said, "What have you done?" He said, "He struck Hasan with a sword, and by God I thought that he had killed him." Abd Allah ibn Rawahah said, "Does the Messenger of God know anything you did?" He said, "No." 'Abd Allah ibn Rawahah said, "You dared to do this, release the man." And Thabit released him. Then they came to the Messenger of God, mentioned the situation to him, and he summoned Hasan and Safwan ibn al-Mu 'attal. Al-Mu 'attal said, "He harmed me, oh Messenger of God, and lampooned me so I got angry and struck him." The Messenger of God said, "Oh Hasan, in regard to what has happened to you, you deserve a compensation." And the Messenger of God gave him a compensation including a *bayraha*, which was a palace of the Banu Hudaylah today and the wealth of Abu Talhah given as alms to the Messenger of God. [16] And Muhammad gave this compensation to Hasan who gave him Sirin, a Coptic slave girl, who bore 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan for him. Hani' ibn al-Mutawakkil.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that when the letter of the Messenger of God reached al-Muqawqas, he embraced it to his chest and said, '"This is a time in which the prophet, whose characterization and description we found in the Book of God, will emerge.[17] In his description, we see that he will not permit two sisters as property to one man or in marriage to one man. He will accept a gift, but not the alms, and his companions are the poor and the seal of prophet is between his shoulders." Then he called for a knowledgeable man and he sent Marya and her sister, besides whom there is no one in Egypt more comely or beautiful, and they are from the people of Hafn of the district of Ansina.[18] He sent them to the Messenger of God and gave him a gray she-mule, a gray donkey, clothing from the Copts of Egypt and honey from Banha.[19] He sent him money

for alms, and he ordered his messenger to determine who his companions were and to see if he could detect a large mole possessing hair.[20] And the messenger did that. When he came to the Messenger of God, he offered him the two sisters, the two riding animals, the honey and the clothes and he informed him [p.48] that all of it was a gift. The Messenger of God received the gift because he never rejected gifts from anyone. When he looked at Marya and her sister, he said that they pleased him, but he did not want them to be together. He could not decide which one he wanted to keep.[21] He said, "Oh God, choose for Your prophet," and God chose Marya for him. That was because he said to them, "Say we testify that there is no God but God and that Muhammad is His servant and His messenger. Marya testified immediately and believed before her sister, while her sister remained silent for an hour and then testified and believed. The Messenger of God gave her sister to Muhammad ibn Maslamah al-Ansari, but someone said rather he gave her to Dihyah al-Khalifah al-Kalbi.

He said and Hani` ibn al-Mutawakkil.... to 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr ibn al- 'As said that the Messenger of God entered on Umm Ibrahim, the Coptic mother of his son, and found a kinsman of hers, who had come with her from Egypt, in the house with her.[22] He frequently entered upon her when something occurred to him and so he returned. 'Umar ibn al-Khattab met him and saw the worry in his face, so he asked him and Muhammad informed him of the situation. 'Umar took the sword and then entered on Marya and her relative and fell on him with the sword. When her relative uncovered himself, 'Umar saw that there was nothing between his legs.[23] When 'Umar saw him, he returned to the Messenger of God and informed him. The Messenger of God said, "Jabril came to me and informed me that God had absolved her and her relative and that she was carrying a baby boy from me. He informed me that he is the most similar

form to me. He ordered me to name him Ibrahim, and he gave the *kunyah* of Abu Ibrahim." Duhaym 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Ibrahim to Ibn Wahb related to us Ibn Lahi 'ah related to Zuhri to Anas who said, "When Umm Ibrahim bore Ibrahim it seemed something occurred to the Prophet until Jabril came to him and said, 'Peace on you, oh Abu Ibrahim.'"[24] It is said that al-Muqawqas sent a eunuch with Marya, who stayed with her. Ahmad ibn Sa 'id al-Fahri.... to Hatib ibn Abi Balta 'ah said, "The Messenger of God sent me to al-Muqawqas, the king of Alexandria, and I brought him the letter of the Messenger of God." [25] [**p. 49**].

Hatib ibn Abi Balta 'ah continued, "He provided lodging at a house and I remained there for several nights. Then he sent for me and he had gathered his Byzantine leaders, and he said, 'I will tell you what I want you to understand.'[26] I said, 'All right, go ahead.' He said, 'Tell me about your master, isn't he a prophet?' I said, 'Yes, he is the Messenger of God.' He said, 'Why didn't he summon God to punish his people when they drove him from his town to another.' I said to him, 'You testify that 'Isa ibn Maryam is a messenger of God, what about those who wanted to crucify him. Did he not invoke God against them that God destroy them so that God raised him into the first heaven?' And he said, 'You are a wise man who came from the place of the wise.[27] I send these gifts with you to Muhammad. And I send guardians with you who will protect you until you reach home.'" He brought three slave girls to the Messenger of God, among them was Umm Ibrahim. The Messenger of God gave one to Abu Jahm ibn Hudhayfah al- 'Abdri and one he gave to Hasan ibn Thabit. He also sent clothing and a distinct gift to him.[28] Marya gave birth to Ibrahim for the Prophet Muhammad, and he was the favorite of the people until he died and the Messenger of God mourned him. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Abu Sa 'id al-Khudri said that the Messenger of God

prayed for his son, Ibrahim, and he said the *Allah Akbar* over him four times.[29] He said that he sprinkled the water on his grave as Ibn Bukayr related to us. 'Abd al-Malik ibn al-Maslamah.... to Anas ibn Malik said that they entered with the Messenger of God on Abu Sayf who was a swords smith in al-Madinah, and was *z'ir* of Ibrahim, son of the Messenger of God.[30] He brought him Ibrahim and Abu Sayf smelled him, then they entered on him while he was in death. Muhammad cried and Ibn 'Awf said to him, "And you too oh Messenger of God." He said, "It is a sign of a merciful heart." And then another tear flowed down, and then he said, "And the heart grieves. And we do not say anything that would not satisfy our Lord [God]." My father, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam [**p.50**] to Asma' ibnat Yazid said that when Ibrahim died, the Messenger of God cried and Abu Bakr and 'Umar said, "You know best, so why do you cry."[31] He said, "The tears flow and the heart is sad. And we would not say what would anger the lord. Were it not a promise and inevitable that everyone would die and the last of us would follow the first, we would have mourned Ibrahim more intensely than we had. Indeed we were sad for him." 'Ali ibn Ma 'bad.... to Jabir ibn 'Abd Allah said that the Messenger of God took 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf by his hand and hurried him to a date palm at which he found his son Ibrahim dying.[32] He took him and put him in his lap then he cried. 'Abd al-Rahman said to him, "You weep, but did you not forbid crying?" The Prophet said, "No, however, I forbade two silly voices, raising the voice at misfortune, scratching of the face, tearing of the clothes, the mourning of the devil and raising of the voice at the tune of amusement and *mizmars* of the devil."[33] 'Abd al-Rahman said, "This is a mercy and he who does not show mercy will not have mercy shown to him; were it not a true matter and a promise and a path of destiny that we would all die, we would grieve for Ibrahim more intensely. And we were sad for you, oh

Ibrahim. The heart is sad and the tears flow and we did not say what angered the Lord." Al-Nadar ibn Salmah.... to Sirin, sister of Marya said that the Messenger of God saw an opening in the grave, meaning the grave of Ibrahim, and he ordered it closed.[34] And it was said, "Oh Messenger of God," and he said, "Indeed it is not harmful and it is not beneficial, however, it is pleasing to the eye of the living. If the servant of the Lord does something, He [Lord] would like him to do it the best he can."[35] Duhaym.... to al-Mughayrah ibn Shu 'bah said that the sun was eclipsed the day of the death of Ibrahim, son of the Messenger of God.[36] And the Messenger of God rose and said, "The sun and the moon are two signs of God's. They are not eclipsed for the death of anyone, nor for his life.[37] And if you see them, you are required the invocation of God so that they are not eclipsed" [**p.51**].

Al-Qa 'nabi.... to Ibn 'Abbas who said that when Marya gave birth, the Messenger of God said that her son had freed her.[38] And the age of Ibrahim, the son of the Messenger of God, the day of his death was sixteen months, as 'Ali ibn Ma 'bad told us on the authority of 'Isa ibn Yunus on the authority of al-A 'mash on the authority of a man he had named on the authority of al-Bara` ibn 'Azib. And the Messenger of God said, "He will have a wet nurse in paradise to continue his nursing." Yazid ibn Abi Salmah.... to the father of Yazid ibn al-Bara`, who said, "When Ibrahim died, the Messenger of God said that he would have his nurse in paradise continuing the remainder of his nursing."[39] Then he returned to the *hadith* of Yazid ibn Abi Habib, who said that the female mule and the donkey were his favorite riding animals and he named the mule Duldul and the donkey Ya 'fur. The honey delighted him, and he blessed the honey, but those clothes remained until he was enshrouded in one of them.[40] Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar.... to 'Abd Allah ibn Mas 'ud. And 'Abd al-Malik

ibn Maslamah.... to Ibn Mas 'ud said, "We said, 'Oh Messenger of God, in what shall we enshroud you?'[41] He said, 'In these clothes of mine or in the clothes of Egypt [the gift].'" Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar said in his *hadith*, "Or in the cloths from Egypt or in a *hullah*." One of them said, "Or in a *yumnah*."[42] Ibn Abi Maryam said that Ibn Lahi 'ah said that the name of the sister of Marya was Qaysara. It is said rather her name was Sirin. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah....to al-A 'raj said that al- Muqawqas, the master of Alexandria, sent Marya and her sister Hannah, and the Messenger of God settled her out of his charity with the Banu Qurayzah.[43] Hani' ibn al-Mutawakkil.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib and Ibn Hubayrah, who said that al-Hasan ibn 'Ali ordered Mu 'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan to remove the *jizyah* from the village of Umm Ibrahim out of respect for her, and he did it.[44] And he removed the *kharaj* from them so not one of them owed *kharaj*. None of her family and her relations remained, rather they died out except one household [**p.52**]. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Rashid ibn Sa 'd said that the Messenger of God said, "If Ibrahim survived, I would not make a single Copt pay the *jizyah*."[45] And the death of Marya was in *al-Muharram* in the year fifteen. She was buried in a plot, and 'Umar ibn al-Khattab prayed for her. The messenger with her was from al-Muqawqas, as 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah ibn Jabr has said. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to 'Ulayyah ibn Rabah al-Lakhmi said that after the death of the Messenger of God, Abu Bakr al-Siddiq sent Hatib to al-Muqawqas in Egypt, and he past by the district of the villages of the eastern area and concluded a truce with them.[46] They gave him the alms and they continued that until 'Amr ibn al- 'As entered and they fought him, thereby breaking that treaty. [47] 'Abd al-Malik said, "And it is the first of the truce which was in Egypt." Ibn Hisham said, "The name of Abu Balta 'ah was 'Amr, and Hatib was a Lakhmi." And concerning that Hasan ibn Thabit said, as Wathimah ibn

Musa related to us in verses in which the messengers of the Prophet to the kings were mentioned:

Say to the Messengers of the Prophet, Shuja 'ah and Dihyah ibn Khalifah. And 'Amr and Hatib and Salit, and 'Amr at the top of the list, who called out to the people."

The Reason for the Entrance of 'Amr ibn al- 'As to Egypt

He said then he returned to the *hadith* of 'Uthman ibn Salih, who said that when it was the eighteenth year and 'Umar proceeded to al-Jabiyah and 'Amr ibn al- 'As was alone with him, Amr asked for permission for the journey to Egypt. 'Amr had entered Egypt in the *Jahiliyah* and he was acquainted with its roads and saw its material wealth.[48] The reason for 'Amr's entrance was, as Yahya ibn Khalid al- 'Adawi related to us on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah and Yahya ibn Ayyub on the authority of Khalid ibn Yazid, that it reached him that 'Amr and members of the Quraysh had proceeded to Jerusalem to trade. And suddenly they were confronted by one of the deacons of the Byzantines from Alexandria, who had come to pray in Jerusalem and who had gone to one of the mountains crying [**p.53**].

'Amr was herding his camels and the camels of his companions because the herding was alternated between them. 'Amr was looking after his camels when that deacon passed by him and a strong thirst inflicted him on that intensely hot day. He stopped before 'Amr and asked him for a drink. 'Amr gave him a drink from a water skin that he had. The deacon drank until he had quenched his thirst then he slept at 'Amr's place. There was a hole beside where the deacon slept from which a great snake emerged. 'Amr saw it and killed it with an arrow. When the deacon woke up, he saw a great snake from which God had rescued him and he said to 'Amr, "What is this?" 'Amr informed him that he had shot and killed it. He approached 'Amr and kissed his head

and said, "God saved me by you twice, once from the intensity of thirst and once from this snake. Why did you come to this country?" 'Amr said, "I came to you with companions of mine seeking profit in trade."[49] The deacon said to him, "And how much do you think you wish to attain in your trade?" He said, "I wish to attain enough so that I might buy another camel. I do not own anything except two camels, and my hope is that I attain a third camel." The deacon said, "What do you think the blood money of one among you is worth?" 'Amr said, "One hundred camels." The deacon said to him, "We do not own camels, but we use *dinars*." 'Amr said, "It will be one thousand *dinars*." And the deacon said to him, "I am a stranger in this country, but I came to pray in the church of Jerusalem and travel in these mountains for a month. I made that vow to myself and I have fulfilled it, and now I want to return to my country. Do you want to follow me to my country? I give you the pledge of God and His treaty that I will give you double blood money, because God exalted has saved me by you twice." And 'Amr said to him, "And where is your country?" He said, "Egypt, in a city that is called Alexandria." 'Amr said to him, "I am not familiar with that place, I have never been there." And the deacon said to him, "If you had been there, you would know that you had never been in a city such as it before." 'Amr said, "Will you keep the promises you made to me and that agreement and covenant of God?" The deacon said to him, "Yes, and God bear witness that the agreement and covenant is incumbent on me, that I will keep my promise and I will return you to your companions." And 'Amr said, "And how long will my stay in that country be?" He said, "A month, but I must protect you while you are traveling with me and I will send a guard to protect you on your return trip." [50] 'Amr said to him, "Wait for me until I consult with my companions concerning that matter." 'Amr went to his companions and he informed them of what the deacon had

promised him [**p.54**].

He said to them, "Stay until I return, and you have my promise of the agreement that I gave you on the condition that one of you come with me to keep me company." And they said, "Yes." And they sent one of their companions with him, and 'Amr and his companion set off with the deacon to Egypt until they reached Alexandria. 'Amr saw its buildings and large populace and what was in it by way of material wealth and good things that amazed him. He said, "I have never seen the like of Egypt before and what was in it by way of wealth." He looked at Alexandria and its buildings, the goodness of its construction and the numerous inhabitants, and the wealth increased his amazement. The entrance of 'Amr to Alexandria coincided with a great celebration to which their kings and their nobles gathered. They had a ball wreathed with gold, which their kings threw to each other and caught with their sleeves. From their experience, whoever caught the ball in his sleeve and it remained there never died before becoming their king. When 'Amr arrived at Alexandria, the deacon gave him all honors and clothed him in clothing of silk brocade. 'Amr and the deacon sat with the people in that gathering where they threw the ball to each other and caught it with their sleeves. A man from them threw it and it tumbled until it fell into 'Amr's sleeve. They were surprised at that. They said, "This ball has never lied except this time. I do not think that this Bedouin will rule us. This will never be." That deacon walked among the people of Alexandria and told them that 'Amr saved him twice and that he had guaranteed him two thousand *dinar*s. He asked them to gather the money for him from among themselves, and they did. They gave it to 'Amr. 'Amr and his companion left, and the deacon sent a guide and a messenger with them. He supplied them with provisions and honored them until he and his companion returned to their companions.

Therefore, in that manner, 'Amr knew the entrance to and exit from Egypt; and he had seen what he knew to be the best and most abundant land by way of wealth. When 'Amr returned to his companions, he distributed one thousand *dinar*s among them, while he took one thousand for himself. 'Amr said, "It was the first wealth I have ever acquired and gained."

<u>The Conquest of Egypt</u>

'Uthman ibn Salih.... to 'Ayyash ibn 'Abbas al-Qitbani (and some of them added more than others) [**p.55**] said that when 'Umar ibn al-Khattab arrived at al-Jabiyah, 'Amr rose to him while he was alone with him and he said, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, permit me to go to Egypt," and he urged him to do it [51] 'Amr said, "Indeed if you conquered it, it would be a power for the Muslims and a support for them, because it is the wealthiest of land and the most incapable of defending itself."[52] 'Umar ibn al-Khattab was afraid for the Muslims and did not like that suggestion. But 'Amr continued to magnify the benefits for 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. He informed him of its situation and he made its conquest seem easy for him until 'Umar was convinced. Consequently, 'Umar contracted an army of four thousand men for him, all of them from Akk.[53] And it is said rather three thousand men were contracted for the army. Abu al-Aswad al-Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that 'Amr ibn al- 'As entered Egypt with three thousand men.[54] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said the likes of the previous *hadith*, except that he said that a third of them were from the Ghafiq.[55] He said then he returned to the *hadith* of 'Uthman, who said that 'Umar said to him, "Go and I will ask God's guidance for your trip and will send you my letter quickly. If my letter reaches you, and in it I order you to depart Egypt before you enter it or any part of its territory, leave! If you have entered

Egypt before my letter reaches you, proceed as you wish and seek the aid of God and ask Him to grant our victory." 'Amr ibn al- 'As left in the middle of the night so that none of the people was aware of his departure, and 'Umar requested from God what was best as if he feared for the Muslims. He wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As requesting that he and whoever was with him of the Muslims must leave. The letter reached 'Amr while he was in Rafah, but 'Amr ibn al- 'As was afraid if he took the letter and opened it, he would find instructions to abandon the mission as 'Umar had promised him. He did not take the letter from 'Umar's messenger and instead ignored it. He continued on his way until he stopped at a village that was between Rafah and al- 'Arish.[56] He asked about the town and it was said that it was of the land of Egypt [**p.56**].

'Amr called for the letter and read it for the Muslims. 'Amr said to those with him, "Don't you know that this village is of Egypt?" They said, "Yes." He said, "The Commander of the Faithful has given me an agreement. He commanded me that if his letter overtook me, I should not enter the land of Egypt but return. If his letter did not reach me until we had entered the land of Egypt, then I was to proceed and go with the blessing of God." It is said rather 'Amr was in Palestine and he proceeded with his companions to Egypt without permission and wrote to 'Umar regarding it. And 'Umar wrote to him while he was outside of al- 'Arish, but 'Amr withheld the letter and did not read it until he reached al- 'Arish. The letter said: "Umar ibn al-Khattab to Ibn al- 'As ibn al- 'As, indeed you and whoever was with you went to Egypt, but there are Byzantine troops there[57] However, there are few troops with you, and I swear if these were your brothers, you would not have taken them there. If you have not reached Egypt, return." 'Amr said, "God be praised, which land is this?" They said, "It is Egypt," and he proceeded as he was. 'Uthman ibn Salih related that to us on the

authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah on the authority of Yazid ibn Abi Habib. And it is said rather 'Amr was with his soldiers and the Muslim soldiers who were stationed over Qaysariyah while 'Umar ibn al-Khattab at that time was in al-Jabiyah. 'Amr wrote secretly and asked permission to go to Egypt. 'Amr ordered his companions, and they set out.[58] Then he went with them at night, and when the commanders of the soldiers noticed that he was missing they expressed their disapproval for what he had done. They thought that he had misled those with him and they brought their concerns before 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. He wrote to 'Amr: "To al- 'As ibn al- 'As, you deluded those who are with you. If my letter reaches you and you have not entered Egypt, return. If it reaches you and you have entered, go and know that I will provide you with [forces and provisions]. Concerning what 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah and Yahya ibn Khalid related to us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd, who said that it is said that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As after he conquered Syria: "I will appoint people to journey with you to Egypt. Whoever is eager to go with you, take him." He sent the letter with Sharik ibn 'Abdah, and 'Amr commissioned them and they hurried to leave with 'Amr. Then 'Uthman ibn 'Affan entered on 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and 'Umar said, "I wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As, who is going to Egypt from Syria," and 'Uthman said, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, indeed 'Amr is encouraged and he is daring. However, I fear that he leaves without trust or troops. [59] He exposes the Muslims to destruction [**p. 57**] in the hope of an unknown opportunity." 'Umar ibn al-Khattab regretted his letter to 'Amr, worrying about what 'Uthman said. He wrote to him: "If my letter reaches you before you enter Egypt, return to your position. However, if you have entered, proceed on your way."

The description of 'Amr ibn al- 'As was, as Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr related to us on the

authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd, that he was short, had a big head, protruding brow, wide mouth, great beard, broad shoulders, and big hands and feet. Al-Layth said, "He filled this mosque."[60]

He said that when the arrival of 'Amr ibn al- 'As to Egypt reached al-Muqawqas, he headed to al-Fustat and prepared the army against 'Amr. A man of the Byzantines, called al-U 'ayraj, was in charge of the fortress and was its governor while under the hands of al-Muqawqas. 'Amr approached until he was at the Mountain of al-Halal, where he was joined by people of the tribes of Rashidah, and tribes of the Lakhm. 'Amr proceeded until he was at al- 'Arish, when the feast of the sacrifice occurred. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib, who said that on that day, 'Amr offered a ram for his friends.[61] Hani' ibn al-Mutawakkil.... to 'Abd al-Karim ibn al-Harith said that there was a man among those who left with 'Amr ibn al- 'As from Syria to Egypt whose camel had become a casualty, so he came to 'Amr asking him for a ride.[62] 'Amr said to him, "Ask your companions for a ride until we reach the first of the settlements." When they reached al- 'Arish, 'Amr ordered two camels for him. Then he said to him, "You will remain in good condition as long as your leaders have mercy on you. If they had not spared you, you would have perished and they would have perished."[63] He said then he referred to the *hadith* of 'Uthman ibn Salih, who said that 'Amr ibn al- 'As advanced and the first place in which he fought was al-Farama. The Byzantines fought him intensely for approximately one month, then God granted him victory. 'Abd Allah ibn Sa 'd was, as Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr said, "Over the right wing from the time he left al-Qaysariyah until he was finished with his war." And someone other than Ibn 'Ufayr said of the elders of the people of Egypt that there was a bishop of the Copts called Abu Binyamin at Alexandria. When he heard of the arrival of 'Amr ibn al- 'As to Egypt, he

wrote to the Copts telling them that Egypt was not a state for the Byzantines anymore. Their authority had been cut off and he ordered them to receive 'Amr. It is said that the Copts who were in al-Farama were helpers of 'Amr that day [**p.58**].

'Uthman said in his *hadith* that 'Amr proceeded and there was no significant resistance until he occupied al-Qawasir. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Kurayb ibn Abrahah said that he was herding sheep for his family in al-Qawasir and 'Amr and those who were with him made camp, so Abrahah approached to the closest tent.[64] When suddenly some Copts appeared close by. One of them said to the others, "Aren't you surprised about these people approaching the great number of Byzantines when they are so few in numbers?" And the other man from them answered him. He said, "Those people did not approach anyone without triumphing over him and even killing the best of them."[65] Kurayb ibn Abrahah stood up and seized him by his collar and said, "You who say this go with me to 'Amr ibn al- 'As so that he hears what you have said." His friends and others entreated him until he released him. He said that he returned the sheep to his camp then came until he entered among the people. 'Uthman said in his *hadith* that Amr proceeded and there was only light resistance until he came to Bulbays. They fought him approximately one month until God gave 'Amr victory. Then he continued and there was no significant resistance until he came to Umm Dunayn and they fought him intensely, but the conquest went slowly. He wrote to 'Umar asking him for help, and 'Umar provided him with four thousand men which totaled eight thousand men. And he fought them [with those reinforcements]. Then he returned to the *hadith* of Ibn Wahb.... to a man from the Lakhm tribe, who said that a man came to 'Amr ibn al- 'As and said, "Assign horses for me so that I can come from behind them in the battle." [66] He took five hundred horseman with him and they went

behind the mountain until they entered the Cave of Banu Wa`il before morning. The Byzantines had dug a trench, gave it entrances and spread iron spikes in these entrances. When it was morning, the people met and the Lakhmi went from behind the battle lines with those who were with him. The Byzantines were put to flight until they entered the fortress. Someone other than Ibn Wahb said that he sent five hundred men led by Kharijah ibn Hudhafah who said, "When it was morning the people rose and did the morning prayer and mounted their horses." 'Amr ibn al- 'As went to battle and he fought them from the front, and the horses that he had sent from behind were loaded up and charged the Byzantines, who were put to flight. The Byzantines had dug a trench around the fortress and made entrances for that trench. Ibn Wahb said in his *hadith*, **[p.59]** on the authority of 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shurayh, that Amr continued with those who were with him until he attacked the fortress and he besieged them until the Byzantines suggested that if he let a few thousand of the people leave, they would open the fortress for him. So he did that, and 'Amr imposed a *dinar* on them (for every man from his companions) and a *jubbah*, hooded cloaks, a turban and two slippers. [67] They asked him that he permit them to prepare a banquet for him and for his companions and he let them do it. My father, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, related to me that 'Amr ibn al- 'As ordered his companions to prepare and put on the *burud*, then they approached.[68] Ibn Wahb said in his *hadith* that when they finished their food, 'Amr asked them, "How much did you spend?" They said, "Twenty thousand *dinars*." 'Amr said, "We do not need your banquet, after today bring us twenty thousand *dinars*." So the people from the Copts brought it and they asked him for permission to go to their villages and to their people. 'Amr said to them, "How do you find us?" They said, "We only think well of you," and the man who spoke the first time said to them, "You

will continue to triumph over all who you meet until the best man among you is killed." 'Amr was angered and sent an order for him. His companions sought him out and they told 'Amr, in order to save their companion, that he did not know what he said. When the killing of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab reached 'Amr, he sent a request for that Copt but found he had died. 'Amr was surprised at his statement. Someone other than Ibn Wahb said that Amr ibn al- 'As said, "When 'Umar ibn al-Khattab was stabbed, I said it is what the Copt said. However, when it was related to me that Abu Lu'lu'ah, a Christian man, killed him, I said, 'he did not mean this, rather he meant whom the Muslims will kill.' And when 'Uthman was killed I knew that what the man said was true." My father said in his *hadith* that when they finished their banquet, 'Amr ibn al-'As ordered them to prepare for that and they made them porridge, broth and *al- 'uraq.*[69] He ordered his companions to wear the *aksiyah*, to cover themselves with it and to kneel[70] When the Byzantines came, they set up chairs of silk brocade and they sat on them and the Arabs sat next to them. 'Amr had a man from the Arabs devour a great part of the porridge. This man tore at the meat [in an uncouth manner] and scattered it on the Byzantines at his side. The Byzantines loathed that manner, and they said to them, "Where are your forefathers who came to us before?" It was said to them, "Your forefathers were the people of consultation and these are the people of war." He said, "I have heard an aspect other than this concerning the conquest of the fortress." 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to 'Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Ja 'far and 'Ayyash ibn 'Abbas and others (some of them added more than others) said [**p.60**] that Amr ibn al- 'As surrounded them in the fortress, which is called Babylon, for some time and he fought them intensely day and night.[71] When 'Amr felt the conquest was delayed, he wrote to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab asking him for help and informing him about the situation.

'Umar provided him with four thousand men, over every one thousand of these men was a commander. 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote to him: "I have provided you with four thousand men, over every one thousand men is a man equal to one thousand men. These are the leaders: al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam, al-Miqdad ibn 'Amr, 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit, and Maslamah ibn Mukhallad."[72] Others claimed rather it was Kharijah ibn Hudhafah as the fourth, and they do not count Maslamah. 'Umar ibn al-Khattab said, "You are now twelve thousand and twelve thousand will not be defeated by fewer." 'Uthman.... to al-Layth ibn Sa 'd who said that it reached him about Khusraw that he had courageous men. [73] If he sent one with his troops to war, he would leave one thousand of the troops behind. If he needed him, he would bring him back and send the one thousand troops."[74] Al-Layth said, "I interpreted what 'Umar ibn al-Khattab did in his expedition with al-Zubayr and al-Miqdad and who he sent with them as somewhat the same as what Khusraw did." Abu al-Aswad al-Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab pitied 'Amr and he sent al-Zubayr after him, leading twelve thousand who witnessed the conquest with him.[75] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab dispatched al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam with the twelve thousand men.[76] And someone other than 'Uthman said that the Byzantines had dug a trench around their fortress and made entrances for the trench where they put stakes of iron driven in the spaces in front of the gates. 'Amr had arrived from Syria with little provision so he spread out his companions so that the enemy would think that they were greater than they were. When they reached the trench, the Byzantines called out, "We have seen what you did and with you is one of your companions, so and so." They were not mistaken about a single man. 'Amr stayed there for several days and woke up at dawn and lined up his

companions with weapons at the entrances of the trench. While he was doing that, he heard about the arrival al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam [**p.61**].

Then al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam arrived with the twelve thousand men and 'Amr received him, then they returned to camp.[77] Soon al-Zubayr mounted, appeared at the trench and spread out the men around the trench.

Then he returned to the *hadith* of 'Uthman on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah, who said that when aid reached 'Amr ibn al- 'As, he charged the fortress and put a catapult against it. And 'Amr said on that day:

A day for the Hamdan and a day for the Sadaf and the Manjaniq is in Bala and Amr is fleeing like a senile old man. Amr was carrying the flag which refutes what they claim[78].

'Amr was fighting under the banner of the Bala as they claimed. 'Amr ibn al- 'As had, as an old man from the people of Egypt informed me, entered on the master of the fortress and they debated about the situation. 'Amr said, "I will leave and consult my companions," but the master of the fortress had directed a man at the door to throw a rock at 'Amr in order to kill him when he passed by. 'Amr wanted to go out with a man from the Arabs and the Arab man said to him, "You have entered, but be careful when you leave."[79] 'Amr returned to the master of the fortress and he said to him, "I want to bring some of my companions so that they hear from you what I heard." The infidel said to himself, "Killing more is better than killing just one person." So he sent instructions to the one whom he ordered to kill 'Amr, "Don't let him be suspicious so he will bring his friends and you can kill them all." And 'Amr departed. Something of this sort happened. 'Isa ibn Hammad said that when the Muslims surrounded the fortress, 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit was on one side praying with his horse by him, and the Byzantines saw him and came out wearing their military ornaments and uniforms.

When they came near him, he stopped his prayer and jumped on his horse. Then he attacked them and when they saw he was not retreating from them, they turned back. He followed them and they began to cast off their belts and their possessions in order to distract him. He did not look at those things until they entered the fortress and started throwing rocks from the top of the fortress. He returned, but took nothing of the things which they had thrown from their possessions. Then he returned to the position he had been in and resumed the prayer. And the Byzantines went out and gathered up their possessions" [**p.62**].

Abu al-Aswad al-Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar.... to Ruwayfa' ibn Thabit said that each of them, in the time of the Messenger of God, took the tired mount of his brother on the condition that he give his brother half of what he gained.[80] He would have half and keep half for himself to the extent that each one of them would lose the tip of the sword, and the other the lance."[81] The Messenger of God said, "He who cleans himself with the droppings of his mount or a bone does not belong to Muhammad." 'Ayyash ibn 'Abbas.... to 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr, who had taken up position at the fortress of Babylon, and recorded the saying of the Messenger of God with this *hadith*.[82]

'Uthman said in his *hadith* that when the conquest was delayed for 'Amr ibn al- 'As, al-Zubayr said, "I sacrifice myself to God and hope that God will let the Muslims win." He put a ladder next to the fortress on the side of the baths called the Suq al-Hammam. Then he ascended and ordered that when they hear his call, *Allah Akbar*, they should all answer him. Someone other than 'Uthman said that they did not notice anything except al-Zubayr (with a sword) on the top of the fortress exclaiming *Allah Akbar*. The people struggled to the ladder and started climbing disorderly until 'Amr forbade them out of fear that it would break. He said then he returned to the *hadith* of 'Uthman, who

said that when al-Zubayr invaded the fortress, those who followed him followed him and he exclaimed *Allah Akbar* and those with him exclaimed *Allah Akbar* and the Muslims answered them from outside. The people of the fortress did not doubt that the Arabs had invaded altogether, so they fled. Al-Zubayr and his companions went to the gate of the fortress and opened it, allowing the Muslims to rush into the fortress. Al-Muqawqas was afraid for himself and for whoever was with him at that time, so he asked 'Amr ibn al- 'As for the arbitration. He called for it and imposed [for the Arabs] two *dinar*s a piece on each Copt. 'Amr agreed to that. Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr related to us saying [**p.63**] that Muhammad ibn Maslamah and Malik ibn Abi Silsilah al-Salami and men from the Banu Haram ascended with al-Zubayr. Shurahbil ibn Hujayyah al-Muradi erected another ladder from the side of a small passage of al-Zamamirah, as it is called today, and he ascended the ladder. There was tension between al-Zubayr and Shurahbil at the entrance, and Shurahbil got the better of al-Zubayr.[83] That quarrel reached 'Amr ibn al- 'As and he said to him, "Retaliate if you wish," and al-Zubayr said, "What shall I get, he has nothing to offer so it is not worth it. Shall I retaliate for the trivial things of al-Yaman oh Ibn al-Nabighah?" The description of al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam was as Hisham ibn Ishaq related to us as they claimed, "He is white, fair of stature, not tall, sparse beard, and has a hairy body." 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to al-Layth said that their stay at the gate of the fortress, until they conquered it, was seven months.[84] And I have heard another aspect concerning the conquest of the fortress which is contradictory to the two *hadith*s completely. Only God knows. 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to Khalid ibn Yazid, who told it on the authority of the *tabi ' un* (some of who said more than others) that when the Muslims besieged Babylon, there was a group of Byzantines, prominent Copts and their heads at the fortress, over whom was al-Muqawqas.[85] They battled them

there for a month and when the people saw the siege and the Arabs' intensity at conquering the fortress and they saw their steadfastness in battle and their desire concerning it, they were afraid that they would conquer them. Al-Muqawqas and a group of the notables of the Copts abandoned the fortress. The Copts exited from the southern gate of the fortress. In front of them was a group battling the Arabs and they reached the island, a place of industry today, and ordered the cutting of the bridge that crosses in the current of the Nile. Some of the old men of the inhabitants of Egypt claimed that al-U 'ayraj stayed behind in the fortress after al-Muqawqas, and when he feared the conquest of the fortress, he and the dignitaries embarked on ships adjacent to the fortress and then reached al-Muqawqas on the island [**p.64**].

Then he returned to the *hadith* of Yahya ibn Ayyub and Khalid ibn Humayd who said that al-Muqawqas addressed 'Amr ibn al- 'As, "You are a people who have entered our country. While you persist in fighting us, your stay in our land has become long. However, you are a small band and the Byzantines have misled you. They are prepared for you; they have equipment and weapons and this Nile has surrounded you, thus you are prisoners in our hands. Send some men to negotiate and perhaps we will reach an agreement that satisfies us both so as to stop us from battle, which will result in the Byzantines overwhelming you. During battle we will not be able to stop and agree to negotiations. Perhaps you will regret it if you are destroyed.[85] So send us one of your companions and we shall negotiate an agreement acceptable to both." And when the messengers of al-Muqawqas reached 'Amr ibn al- 'As, he confined them at his place for two days and two nights until al-Muqawqas was afraid for them and he said to his companions, "Do you see that they kill messengers and they confine them, and they regard that as lawful in their religion." However, by doing that, 'Amr wanted them to

see the situation of the Muslims. 'Amr replied to them with al-Muqawqas' messengers. "There is nothing acceptable for negotiation except one of three courses. You have the choice to enter into Islam and become our brothers so that you will have what we have. Or, if you refuse, then you will be forced to give the *jizyah* and you will be humble. Or, we will fight you with steadfastness and the battle will continue until God decides between us for he is the best of all judges." When the messengers of al-Muqawqas returned, he said to them, "What do you think of them?" They said, "We saw them as a people to whom death is more dear than life, and humbleness is more dear to one than nobility. Each of them does not have a desire concerning the world nor any greed. Rather, their seats are on the ground and their food is on their knees and their prince is as one of them. The high ranking Muslim is indistinguishable from the low ranking, nor the master among them from the slave. And when the time for prayer comes, not one among them forgoes it. They wash their extremities with water and they submit in their prayer." Al-Muqawqas and he who swears by him said, "There upon even if they turn to the mountains, they would not make them vanish and no one was capable of fighting them.[67] If we do not seize this opportunity and reach a reconciliation today, because they are surrounded by this Nile, they will not have to accept a deal with us after today. And when the earth empowers, them they will be able to leave their position." Al-Muqawqas sent his messengers back to them, "Send us messengers and we will deal with them and negotiate as to what might be possible for a reconciliation between us." 'Amr ibn al- 'As sent ten people, one of whom was 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit [**p.65**].

Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr related to us saying that ten Arabs embraced Islam. The height of every man among them was ten spans of the hand. 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit was one of

them. Then he returned to the statement of 'Uthman, who said that 'Amr ordered him to be the spokesman of the people and not to agree to any conditions except one of three courses. The Commander of the Faithful had approached 'Ubadah about the negotiations, and ordered him not to accept anything except one of those three courses. 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit was dark, and when they sailed the ships to al-Muqawqas and they entered on him, 'Ubadah came forward. Al-Muqawqas was afraid of him because of his darkness and he said, "Take this dark man away and send someone else to speak to me." All of them informed him, "This dark man is the best of us by way of thought and intelligence, and he is our master and our leader. We all defer to his advice. The *Amir* has assigned him, not us, and ordered us not to oppose his ideas and his speech." Al-Muqawqas said, "And are you satisfied that this dark man is the best among you? Is it desirable that it be he and not you?" They said, "Not at all; although he is black as you see he is the most excellent of us by way of rank and the most excellent of us by way of seniority, intelligence and thought. His darkness is not rejected among us." Al-Muqawqas said to 'Ubadah, "Come forward oh dark one and speak to me with gentleness. For I was afraid of your darkness. If your speech is severe, it will increase my fear consequently." 'Ubadah approached him and said, "I have heard everything you were telling my friends about me., I have left behind, among my companions, one thousand dark men, all of them darker than me and more detestable to look at. If you were to see them, you would be more afraid of them than you are of me. My youth has slipped away and I, by praise of God, do not fear one hundred men of my enemies were they all to face me. And likewise, my friends do not either. That was because of our desire and our eagerness of the *jihad* in the path of God and the desire to follow his consent.[88] We are not raiding those who fight God for worldly goods, nor seeking

excessiveness except what God has declared permissible for us. He made what we gain from that booty as permissible. None of us cares if he has a *qantar* of gold or if he does not own anything except one *dirham*, because the goal of each of us in this world is to eat a bite with which stops his hunger for a day and night and to wear a turban.[89] And if one of us does not own anything except that, that is enough for him. If he has a *qantar* of gold he spends it in compliance with God and he limits it to that which is in his hand. What was in the material world will come to him because the comfort and its happiness is not happiness, rather it is the comfort and happiness in the hereafter. [90] And in that manner our Lord has ordered us, and he ordered our Prophet and made a covenant with us that not one of us will have ambition for worldly goods except what stops his hunger and covers up his nakedness. His ambition and his concern is in the satisfaction of this Lord and the *jihad* of his enemy" [**p.66**].

When al-Muqawqas heard that from him, he said to those who were around him, "Have you ever heard anything such as what this man said? I have been afraid of his appearance. Indeed his speech is more fearful, in my opinion, than his appearance. God has brought this man and his companions out to this ruined land.[91] I believe them to be so powerful that they will conquer the whole earth." Then al-Muqawqas approached 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit and al-Muqawqas said, "Oh righteous man, I have heard your statement and what you have said about you and your companions. Whatever you obtained, you obtained because of your lack of worldly desire and you conquered whoever you conquered because of their worldliness and greed.[92] And the group of Byzantines, whose number is not to be calculated, is sent to fight you and they are known for their strength and harshness. None of them is concerned with who he meets or who he fights. Indeed, we know that you will not be forceful over them and

will not master them because of your weakness and your few numbers. You have stayed in our midst for months while you are in distress and hardship by way of means of living and supplies. We have compassion for you, for your weakness, your small number, and for your lack of equipment. We are happy to reconcile with you, and will pay two *dinar*s a piece for every man among you and one hundred *dinar*s for your *Amir* and one thousand *dinar*s for your caliph.[90] Take the money and depart to your country before you are overwhelmed." 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit said, "Do not mislead yourself and your companions in thinking the number and multitude of the Byzantine troops would scare us. As for you trying to scare us with the multitude of the Byzantines, this is not something you can scare us with or use to change our minds from our intentions. If what you say is true, that, by God, is the most desirous for us. Fighting them is the most excusable for us with our Lord when we reach him. When we are all killed, he will establish a place for us in his paradise. There is nothing more preferable to us than that. In this case we will obtain one of the two best things, either the great booty of the world if we overcome you, or the booty of the afterlife if you overcome us. These are the two conditions that we prefer after battle. And God, the Exalted and Almighty, said to us in his book, 'Often a band with small numbers has overcome a numerous group with the permission of God and God is with the persistent.' There is not a man among us who does not pray to his Lord day and night to grant him martyrdom, and to not return him to his country, nor to his land, nor to his people, nor to his children. None of us has any worries for his family because each of us has entrusted his people and his children with his Lord" [**p.67**].

'Ubadah continued, "But our concern was what was before us. As for your speech that we are tense and in hardship of means and situation, rather it is the opposite. We

are in the best situation. If the entire world was ours, we would not want more than what we need for ourselves. Tell us what you want. However, there will not be an agreement acceptable to us except one of the three courses. Choose whichever you like of these three courses. Do not be greedy and try to impose something other than these three. This is what our commander ordered me and the Commander of the Faithful has ordered him. It is the covenant of the Messenger of God that you respond to Islam, which is the religion that God accepts. It is the religion of his prophets, his messengers and his angels. God ordered us to battle whoever opposes and dislikes him until he enters into this religion. If he does, than he has what we have and he owes what we owe and he is our brother in the religion of God. If you and your companions accept that, you will pass with good fortune in the world and in the afterlife. Thus, we will withdraw from the battle and will not regard harming you as lawful so there will be no violation of your rights. If you refuse, accept the terms and bring us the *jizyah* on demand. Thus you will be submissive, allowing us to deal with you according to our satisfaction. If you pay every year, we will treat you nicely as long as we exist and we will fight your enemies for you and whoever threatens your land or your blood or your wealth. We will defend you in that manner so that you will be in our protection and you will have a covenant with us. If you reject this offer, there is no other choice except the trial by the sword until we die to the last of us or we attain what we want from you. This is our religion to which we are indebted to God, and he does not permit us anything other than this. Discuss it among yourselves." Al-Muqawqas said to him, "What you want will never happen. You want to take us and make us slaves to you as long as we exist in this world." And 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit said to him, "It is this way, so choose what you wish." Al-Muqawqas said to him, "And won't you give us a course

other than these three?" 'Ubadah raised his hands and he said, "By the Lord of this heaven and the Lord of this earth and the Lord of everything, you do not have a course other than these, so choose for yourselves." Al-Muqawqas turned to his companions and said, "The people are done talking, what do you think? Is anyone satisfied with the shame of entering into their religion?" They said, "This will never be that we leave the religion of Christ, the son of Maryam, and enter into another religion that we do not know. And as for their wanting to take us prisoner and make us slaves, death is easier than that. Perhaps they would be satisfied that we double what we have given them many times over." And al-Muqawqas said to 'Ubadah, "The people had refused, what do you think? Consult with your master on that. We will give you what you wish this time and then you will leave" [**p.68**].

'Ubadah and his companions rose and al-Muqawqas said thereupon to those who were around him, "Obey me and respond to one of the three courses because, if you do not, by God you will not have any power. If you do not answer it as those who submit, you will be forced to do what they want later."[94] They said, "And which course do we follow?" Al-Muqawqas said, "In that case, as for your entrance into a religion other than your own, I do not order you to do it. And as for fighting them, I know that you will not be strong against them and will not outlast their endurance. It is inevitable to avoid the third." They said, "Will we always be slaves for them?" He said, "Yes, you will be slaves having power in your country, and you will secure your livelihood, your wealth and the prosperity for your descendants. It is better for you than having all of you die or become slaves who are sold and pursued in this land and torn to pieces and always subjugated, you, your families and your descendants." They said, "Death is easier for us." And the Byzantines ordered the cutting of the bridge from al-Fustat to the island.

In the fortress there was an assembly of a numerous group of Copts and Byzantines. The Muslims battled those who were in the fortress until they overpowered them and God made it possible for them to kill many. Some were taken hostage and all of the ships [Byzantines fleeing from the fortress] crossed to the island. The Muslims were surrounded by the water from all sides and were not able to penetrate toward Upper Egypt nor to any other cities and villages. Al-Muqawqas said to his companions. "Did I not tell you this and feared for the decision that you made. Now, by God, you will be forced to do what they want later, so obey me before you regret it." And when they saw what happened and what al-Muqawqas said to them, they conceded the *jizyah* and they were satisfied with that on the condition that there be a well-established arbitration between them. And al-Muqawqas addressed 'Amr ibn al- 'As, "I am still eager for your answer to those courses that you sent me. He who was in my presence from the Byzantines and the Copts disobeyed me so that I was not able to make a decision about them concerning their wealth. They know my advice to them and my love of their goodness, and they have referred to my statement and given me their trust. I will meet with individuals of my companions and you meet with individuals of your companions. If everything goes well, that will be settled between us.[95] If it is not settled, we will return to a state of war." And 'Amr asked for the council of his companions concerning that and they said, "We will not give them anything of the arbitration nor the *jizyah* until God conquers for us, [**p.69**] so that all the land would become ours as plunder and booty as the fortress and what was in it became ours." 'Amr said, "I have told you what the Commander of the Faithful entrusted me with regarding his arbitration. If they answer one of the three courses that he charged me with, I should accept what they offer particularly now that this water has obstructed us from fighting them." And

they convened at the arbitration and they accepted in accordance with what was imposed on all of who were in Egypt. The highest and the lowest of the Copts, whoever of them had achieved puberty, must pay two *dinars* each. It was not put on the very old nor on the small who had not reached puberty, nor on the women. And it was necessary for the Muslims to lodge their troops wherever they stayed. Whoever hosted one of the Muslims should provide him with everything for the required three days. They had their land and their wealth and no one could take these. All of this was stipulated over the Copts especially. The number of Copts was calculated on that day, especially he who paid the *jizyah*. The two *dinars* were imposed upon him, their authorities took confirmed oaths and all the inhabitants of Egypt were counted that day. The highest and lowest of all the Copts were counted and their names were written down. There were 600,000 inhabitants. On that day their duties were estimated to be twelve million *dinars* every year.

'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Yahya ibn Maymun al-Hadrami said that when 'Amr ibn al- 'As conquered Egypt, he reached a settlement with all men among the Copts who had reached puberty and older.[96] There was not among them a woman nor an old man nor a youth whom they charged with two *dinars*. And their number reached 800,000. 'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that al-Muqawqas reached a settlement with 'Amr ibn al- 'As that two *dinars* be decreed over every man of the Copts.[97]

Then he returned to the *hadith* of Yahya ibn Ayyub and Khalid ibn Humayd, who said that al-Muqawqas stipulated to the Byzantines to choose and whoever preferred to stay and whoever would like to accept, must pay those dues. Those who stayed were at Alexandria and what was around it in the land of Egypt.[98] And whoever wanted to leave

for the land of the Byzantines, could leave [**p.70**].

Al-Muqawqas was entitled to speak on behalf of the Byzantines particularly, because he was the best among the Byzantines. He wrote to the king of Byzantium telling him of what he did. He wrote that if he would accept that agreement and would be satisfied with it, he would permit them to carry out the stipulations of the treaty. If they were not satisfied, they would continue as they were now. They wrote the reconciliation concerning it, and al-Muqawqas wrote a letter to the king of Byzantium telling him of the nature of his affair. The king of Byzantium wrote to him rebuking his idea and undermining him. He told him what he should do, saying in his letter: "Indeed twelve thousand men of the Arabs came to you in Egypt, and the multitude of Copts is incapable. If the Copts despised the battle and preferred the payment of the *jizyah* to the Arabs and they choose them over us, then there are Byzantines with you in Egypt, in Alexandria more than one hundred thousand strong, who are powerful and ready to fight. The Arabs, from what you had seen, were weak. Are you incapable of fighting them, and are you and whoever is with you of the Byzantines satisfied to be in the same situation of the Copts, who are lowly, so that you do not fight them? You and whoever was with you of the Byzantines fight until you die or you become victorious over them. They are few and weak, like a morsel, compared to you in proportion, power and numbers. Oppose them in battle; you have no other option except that." And the king of Byzantium wrote a letter such as that to the troop of Byzantines. When the letter of the king of Byzantium came to him, al-Muqawqas said, "By God their few numbers and weakness is stronger and more powerful than us despite our great numbers and strength; indeed one man of their men equals one hundred of our men because they prefer death to life. They fight while risking their lives, content not to return to their

families nor to their countries nor to their children. They see that they have great reward in whoever of us they kill. Indeed, they say if they are killed they enter paradise. They do not have any worldly desires nor enjoyment except for sustaining life with just enough of food and clothes. We are a people who dislike death and prefer life and its pleasures. How do we compare to them and how do we endure them? Know, oh assemblage of Byzantines, by God I will not go back on the treaty and what I have agreed upon with the Arabs concerning it.[99] Indeed, I know that tomorrow you will agree with my opinion and my statement. If you were to accede to me and all that I know and have witnessed and viewed, that which the king did not witness, you would be satisfied to secure life for yourself, your wealth and your offspring by paying two *dinars* a year." Then al-Muqawqas approached 'Amr ibn al- 'As and said to him, "The king had despised what I did and undermined me, and he wrote ordering me and the Byzantines not to be satisfied with your agreement" [**p.71**].

"He ordered them to fight you until they defeat you or you defeat them. However, I will not go back on the treaty, and I have concluded a contract with you concerning it. However, my authority is only over whoever obeys me.[100] The Copts have completed the peace; indeed, the renunciation of the treaty was not done by them. I will fulfill the treaty. The Copts will fulfill the treaty that you concluded with them as well. As for the Byzantines, I am not responsible for them. I ask that you agree with me on three conditions." 'Amr asked, "What are these three things?" Al-Muqawqas replied, "Number one, do not go back on the agreement with the Copts; if you consider me one of them, I will abide by the conditions of that treaty and I will also give what they give. We agree on the same thing. They will give you what you want. As for the second, if the Byzantines ask you after today to make peace with them, do not reach a settlement

until they have surrendered land themselves. Then everything they have will be yours. They are people who deserve that because I advised them and they regarded me as cowardly, and so rejected my advice. And as for the third, I request that if I die, tell them to bury me in the Abu Yuhannas in Alexandria." 'Amr ibn al- 'As accepted those and agreed to what he wanted on the condition that they guarantee to feed and host the Muslims and that they set up the markets and bridges between al-Fustat and Alexandria. They did that. And someone other than 'Uthman said that the Copts became helpers to them as it happened in the *hadith*.

And it is said that al-Muqawqas made an agreement with 'Amr ibn al- 'As for the Byzantines while they were surrounded in Alexandria. Yahya ibn Khalid al- 'Adawi informed us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd that 'Amr ibn al- 'As, when he conquered Alexandria, surrounded and harassed its people for three months until they grew fearful of him. Al-Muqawqas asked him for peace and he made a treaty with him for the Copts on the condition that he would wait for the opinion of the king. 'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that al-Muqawqas, the Byzantine who was the king over Egypt, made an agreement with 'Amr ibn al- 'As on the condition that whoever of the Byzantines wanted to go may go and whoever wanted to settle down, may stay according to the decree which he had named.[101] And that reached Heraclius, the king of the Byzantines, and annoyed him immensely so he renounced al-Muqawqas. He sent the troops and they barricaded Alexandria, declaring war on 'Amr ibn al- 'As. Al-Muqawqas went to 'Amr ibn al- 'As and said, "I ask you three things." 'Amr said, "What are they?" Al-Muqawqas said, "Do not offer a reconciliation.[102] I have advised them but they rejected my council. Do not break the treaty with the Copts, because the breach of the treaty did not come from their side. And, advise them to bury me in Abu Yuhannas

when I die." 'Amr said, "This is the easiest of the three" [**p.72**].

Then he returned to the *hadith* of 'Uthman who said that when possible, 'Amr ibn al- 'As came out with the Muslims and a group of leaders among the Copts. The Copts paved the lanes for them and set up the bridges and the markets for them. The Copts became helpers for them during the battle with the Byzantines. The Byzantines heard that and prepared and mobilized. Many ships arrived from the land of the Byzantines, upon which were the troops of Byzantines and a great amount of equipment and weapons. 'Amr ibn al- 'As started out from al-Fustat heading for Alexandria, but he did not meet anyone until he reached Tarnut where he met a troop of Byzantines. They fought an insignificant battle and God routed the Byzantines. 'Amr went with his troops until he met a troop of Byzantines at the Hill of Sharik. They battled him for three days, then God conquered for the Muslims and turned away the Byzantines who retreated. And it is said rather that 'Amr ibn al- 'As sent Sharik ibn Sumayy in their tracks, as 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah on the authority of Yazid ibn Abi Habib, and he reached them at the hill that was called the Hill of Sharik. Sharik fought them and routed them. Another other than 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah said that Sharik met them at the Hill of Sharik while he was at the forefront, and 'Amr was in Tarnut. They forced Sharik to take refuge at the hill so he fortified himself while the Byzantines surrounded them. When Sharik ibn Sumayy saw that, he instructed Abu Na 'imah Malik ibn Na 'imah al-Sadafi, as he was the owner of the roan horse that was called the roan of Sadaf who was not overrun easily. He descended upon them from the hill and the Byzantines ran after him.[103] They did not catch him before he came to 'Amr and informed him about the situation. 'Amr headed towards them, and the Byzantines heard him coming and left. Among the horses that

were in Egypt, was al-Ashqar, for whom Khawkhah al-Ashqar was named.[104] The reason for that name was because the horse died and his owner buried him there, therefore the place was attributed to him. Then he returned to the *hadith* of Yahya ibn Ayyub and Khalid ibn Humayd, who said that they met at Sultays where they fought a pitched battle, then God routed the Byzantines. Then they met at al-Kiryawn where they battled for approximately ten to twenty days. 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr commanded the vanguard, and he who carried the banner on that day was Wardan, *mawla* of 'Amr **[p.73]**.

Talq ibn al-Samh and Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr....to 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr said that he met the enemy at al-Kiryawn while he was at the forefront, and Wardan, *mawla* of 'Amr, carried the banner.[105] 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr received many wounds and he said, "Oh Wardan, if I retreat a little we will attain a comfort."[106] And Wardan said, "The comfort is in front of you not behind you." 'Abd Allah advanced and the messenger of his father came to him and asked about his wounds, and 'Abd Allah said, "If my soul starts to be frightened I ask it to be patient." The messenger returned to 'Amr and informed him of what he said, and 'Amr said, "Truly he is my son." 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that 'Amr ibn al- 'As prayed the prayer of fear on that day.[107] My father, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and al-Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar.... to Bakr ibn Sawadah said that a *shaykh* related to them that he prayed a prayer of fear in Alexandria with 'Amr ibn al- 'As while all the troops made one *rak 'ah*.[108]

Then he returned to the *hadith* of Yahya ibn Ayyub and Khalid ibn Humayd who said that God conquered for the Muslims, allowing them to kill many, and they followed them until they reached Alexandria where the Byzantines were fortified. There were

strong protected fortresses, and the Muslims occupied what was between Hulwah to Qasr Fars to what was beyond that.[109] And with them were the leaders of the Copts who provided them with what they needed by way of food and fodder. Hani` ibn al-Mutawakkil.... to 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan said that when he reached Alexandria he asked about its conquest, and it was said to him that there was no one who had witnessed its conquest except an old man from the Byzantines.[110] Thus he ordered them to bring the old man and he asked him [**p. 74**] about what happened at the conquest of Alexandria. The old man said that he was a young boy and his companion was a son of one of the Byzantine patricians.[111] The old man related that the patrician's son came to him and said, "Don't you want to go with us to look at those Arabs who fight us?" He put on silk brocade clothing, a headband of gold and a decorated sword and he rode a fat work horse, while I rode a skinny one. We went beyond all of the fortresses until we appeared at an elevated place where we saw people in tents. A horse was tied at every tent and a lance planted in the ground. We saw a weak people, which surprised us. We said, 'How did those people obtain what they obtained from us?' While we stood looking at them amazed, suddenly one of them left one of the tents and when he saw us, he untied his horse, rubbed him and stroked him. Then he jumped on his back while it was unsaddled and he took his lance in his hand and came toward us. I said to my companion, 'By God he is after us.' When we saw him approaching, we knew he was after us.[112] We fled toward the fortress and he began searching for us and caught up with my companion because of his fat horse. He stabbed him with his lance until he fell down. Then he shook the lance in his belly until he killed him. He approached me and it occurred to me that my horse was light and I could save myself until I could get to the fortress. When I entered the fortress, I felt safe. I ascended the

walls of the fortress and turned around and looked at him. When he gave up, he turned around but did not heed my companion that he had killed. He did not desire his booty and did not remove it from him. His booty was clothing of silk brocade and a head band of gold, but he did not search out his riding animal nor did he concern himself with that booty. He left by another route and, while I watched him, I heard him speaking. He raised his voice and I thought that he indeed recited the Qur`an of the Arabs. I realized thereupon that they were capable of what they were capable of, and that they had conquered the country because they did not desire any worldly possessions. Then he reached his tent, dismounted from his horse, tied it and planted his lance in the ground. He entered his tent without telling any of his companions about that incident. 'Abd al- 'Aziz said, "Describe that man's appearance and situation for me." He said, "Yes, he was slightly ugly, not full height of a man in stature, and in his build he was thin." At that, Abd al- 'Aziz said, "Verily, he has given a description of a Yamani man." Hani` ibn al-Mutawakkil related to us Muhammad ibn Yahya al-Iskandarani related to us saying, "'Amr ibn al- 'As camped at Hulwah, where he stayed for two months, then he switched to al-Maqs. The Byzantine horsemen came to him from the direction of al-Buhayrah, concealed themselves in the fortress, and ambushed him. Twelve Muslim men were killed on that day in the church of gold" [**p. 75**].

Then he returned to the *hadith* of Yahya ibn Ayyub and Khalid ibn Humayd who said that the messenger of the king of Byzantium came and went frequently to Alexandria in the ships which were full of the provisions for the Byzantines. The king of Byzantium used to say that if the Arabs were victorious over Alexandria, that victory would end the sovereignty of Byzantium and would cause their destruction because Byzantium did not have any churches greater than the churches of Alexandria. The

real holiday of Byzantium was held in Alexandria because the Arabs had conquered Damascus.[113] The king said, "If they conquer us at Alexandria, the Byzantines will have perished and the sovereignty of Byzantium will be finished." And he ordered his equipment and preparation in order to leave for Alexandria to participate in the battle himself, because he regarded it as important. He ordered that not one of the Byzantines stay behind, and he stated that there was no point to stay if they lose Alexandria. When he was ready, God killed him, and his provisions were enough for the Muslims.[114] His death was in the year nineteen. By his death, God broke the strength of Byzantium. All the troops who were turned toward Alexandria returned [to Constantinople probably]. Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr related to us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd, who said that Heraclius died in the year twenty and in that year Qaysariyah, Syria was conquered.

He said then he returned to the *hadith* of Yahya ibn Ayyub and Khalid ibn Humayd, who said that the Arabs displayed the courage of a lion at that battle, harassed the inhabitants of Alexandria and fought them intensely. 'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that a part of the Byzantines left from the gate of the fortress of Alexandria, attacked the people and engaged a man from the Mahrah.[115] They cut off his head and sent the body out. The Mahriyun became angry and they said, "We will never bury him except with his head." 'Amr ibn al- 'As said, "You became angry as if they would care. If they come out, fight them and kill one of their men. Then, throw his head to them and they will throw you the head of your companion." The Byzantines went out and fought them and a man of the Byzantines (of the Patricians) was killed. They cut off his head and threw it to the Byzantines. The Byzantines threw the head of the Mahri to them, and 'Amr said, "Go ahead now and bury your companion." 'Amr ibn

al- 'As, as 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah on the authority of al-Harith ibn Yazid, said that there were three tribes from Egypt. Among these was the Mahrah, who were a people who killed and could not be killed; [**p.76**] the Ghafiq, who were a people who were killed and did not kill, and the Bala. The most esteemed of the Bala were companions of the Messenger of God and the most preferred horseman. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Ayyash ibn 'Abbas said that when the Muslims surrounded Alexandria, the officer of the vanguard said to them, "Do not proceed until I order you to."[116] And when the gate was opened and two men entered and were killed, the officer of the vanguard cried. He was asked, "Why do you cry, for they were martyrs?" He said, "If only they were martyrs, however I heard the Messenger of God say that the disobedient does not enter paradise, and I had ordered not to enter until my signal reached them but they entered without my permission." 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Musa ibn 'Ulayya said that a man said to 'Amr ibn al-'As, "If I use the catapult and I fired it, their wall would be destroyed." [117] 'Amr said, "Can you conceal it?" Al-Layth said, "And it was said to 'Amr, 'the enemy had enveloped you and we are afraid for Ra`itah because they are after his wife.' He said, 'Then you will find many Ra`itahs.'[118]

Then he returned to the *hadith* of 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to *al-thiqah*, who said that on a certain day 'Amr ibn al- 'As fought the Byzantines intensely in Alexandria.[119] When the battle heated up between them, a man from the Byzantines dueled Maslamah ibn Mukhallad and the Byzantine fell him and threw him from his horse. The Byzantine man pounced on him in order to kill him, but one of his companions prohibited him. Maslamah was an undisputed fighter but this was bad luck, which pleased the Byzantines and was a disappointment for the Muslims. 'Amr ibn al- 'As became angry

because of that situation. Maslamah was very heavy set and 'Amr ibn al- 'As said concerning that. "Why is it that the man large in the buttocks, which resemble the women's, concerns himself with the business of men and compares himself with them." Maslamah became angry at that and did not respond to him. Then the battle intensified until they invaded the fortress of Alexandria. The Arabs fought them in the fortress: the Byzantines stormed against them until they removed all the Arabs from the fortress except four individuals. One of these individuals was 'Amr ibn al- 'As and the other was Maslamah ibn Mukhallad [**p.77**].

We did not remember the others. The remaining Arabs passed among the Byzantines in the fortress but no one noticed them. The Byzantines did not know who they were and when 'Amr ibn al- 'As and his companions saw that, they fortified themselves in the vaults of the baths. They ordered a Byzantine to speak to them in Arabic. He said to them, "You have become prisoners in our hands, so surrender as prisoners and do not kill yourselves by resisting." They refused. Then the Byzantine said to them, "Your companions have some of our men as prisoners, so we will give you pledges. We will ransom our companions and we will not kill you." And they refused them and when the Byzantine saw that he said to them, "Shall we agree on a condition concerning this situation between us? You will give a pledge to us and we will give you its like on the condition that one of you duels one of us. If our companion overcomes your companion, surrender as prisoners to us. If your companion overcomes our companion, we will release you to your companions." And they were satisfied with that arrangement and took a pledge to that affect, while 'Amr and Maslamah and their two companions were in the fortress in the baths. They called for a duel and the man who dueled for the Byzantines, was one in whom the Byzantines placed their trust. They

said, "One of you should come forward to meet our companion." 'Amr wanted to duel, but Maslamah prevented him. Maslamah said, "What is this, you make a mistake twice; you are isolated from your companions and you are a commander. If you fight and are killed, that will lower morale. They do not know what is happening with you. You are not satisfied until you duel and get yourself killed. If you were killed that would be a calamity for your companions. Stay in your place and I will protect you, God willing." And 'Amr said, "Go ahead, maybe God will relieve us through you." Maslamah and the Byzantine came forward and they fought each other for some time. Then God helped and supported Maslamah and he killed the Byzantine. Maslamah and his companions said, "God is great," and the Byzantines held up the contract and opened the gate of the fortress for them. The Byzantines did not know that the commander of the people was among them until after they left the fortress. They were sorry for that and wrung their hands in frustration for what had happened to them. When they left, 'Amr was embarrassed by what he had said to Maslamah when he had become angry. 'Amr said thereupon, "Ask for a pardon for me for what I said to you." And Maslamah asked for a pardon. 'Amr said, "I have only committed atrocities three times, twice in the *Jahiliyah* and this third time. There is not among them a single time that I have not regretted and was embarrassed. I was not embarrassed more than for what I said to you. By God I wish that I not do it again as long as I live."[120]

He said, then he returned to the *hadith* of 'Uthman.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib, who said that [**p.78**] 'Amr ibn al- 'As besieged Alexandria for months, and when that reached 'Umar ibn al-Khattab he said, "Nothing delayed its conquest except for what they have done."[121] Yahya ibn Khalid related to us on the authority of his father on the authority of 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Zayd ibn Aslam, who said that when the conquest of Egypt was

delayed. 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As: "I was surprised at your delay of the conquest of Egypt. You have been fighting them for two years and there is no reason for the delay except what you have done, because you prefer worldliness and what your enemy prefers. Indeed God, be He Blessed and Exalted, does not give victory to a people except according to their intent.[122] I have sent four leaders to you and on the basis of what I knew about them, I told you that they are equal to one thousand, unless they have been changed by what changed the others.[123] When my letter reaches you, address the people, incite them to battle their enemies and awaken them in endurance and purpose. Give precedence to those four leaders to the forefront and order the people to unite as if they were one man. That will be at sunset of Friday, which is the hour when God will respond to them. Let the people ask for help from God and ask him to grant them victory against their enemies." When the letter reached 'Amr, he gathered the people and read 'Umar's letter for them. Then he called for the four leaders, set them in front of the people and ordered the people to perform ablutions and two *rak 'ah* to ask God the Almighty for victory, and they did that. And God helped them to be victorious. 'Amr ibn al- 'As consulted with Maslamah ibn Mukhallad, as 'Uthman ibn Salih related to us on the authority of those who related to him, and he said, "Advise me in combating them." Maslamah said to him, "I think you should look for a man from the companions of the Messenger of God, who has knowledge and experience, and give him authority over the people. He was the one who was in contact with the battle and he will suffice you."[124] 'Amr said, "Who would that be?" And he said, "'Ubadah ibn al-Samit." 'Amr called 'Ubadah and he came riding his horse. When he came close to him he wanted to dismount, however, 'Amr said to him, "I have decided for you, if you dismount present me with the spear head of your lance." He

presented it to him and 'Amr took off his turban and he put him in charge of the battle of the Byzantines. 'Ubadah advanced from his position and confronted and battled the Byzantines. God conquered Alexandria through him on that very day. My father, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam related to us that when the conquest of Alexandria was delayed, 'Amr ibn al- 'As fumed and said, "Indeed, I thought about this situation and no one can correct its final stages except the ones who corrected its earlier stages."[125] [**p.79**].

He called for 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit and put him in charge, and God conquered Alexandria under his command on that very day. Then he returned to the *hadith* of Yahya ibn Ayyub and Khalid ibn Humayd, who said that the Muslims surrounded Alexandria for nine months after the death of Heraclius and five months before that. It was conquered on the day of *Jum 'ah* at the beginning of *al-Muharram* in the year twenty. Abu al-Aswad al-Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar.... to Junadah ibn Abi Umayyah said, "'Ubadah ibn al-Samit summoned me the day of Alexandria while [Samit] was in charge of the battle.[126] The enemy attacked a troop of the people, but he did not permit them to retaliate. He heard me and he sent me to hold them back which I did. Then I returned to him and he said, 'Were any of the people killed there.' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Praise be to God that no one was killed being disobedient.'" 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us on the authority of Malik ibn Anas who said that Egypt was conquered in the year twenty. He said, "When God, the Blessed and Exalted, routed the Byzantines and conquered Alexandria, as 'Abd Allah ibn Salih related on the authority of al-Layth, the Byzantines fled by land and by sea." 'Amr ibn al- 'As left behind one thousand men of his troops in Alexandria. 'Amr and whoever was with him went looking for those of the Byzantines who had fled by land, while those of the Byzantines

who had fled by sea returned to Alexandria. They killed the Muslims who did not flee from them. That reached 'Amr ibn al- 'As, and he turned around, returned and conquered Alexandria and remained there. He wrote to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab: "God has conquered Alexandria for us by force without treaty or contract." 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote to him denouncing his ideas and ordered him not to do it again.[127] Ibn Lahi 'ah said, "It was the second conquest of Alexandria." Ibrahim ibn Sa 'id al-Balawi related to us that the cause of this conquest was because of a man called Ibn Bassamah, who was a gate keeper. He asked 'Amr ibn al- 'As that he insure the security of his land and his family and he would open the gate for him in exchange for that security. 'Amr agreed to that and Ibn Bassamah opened the gate for him, allowing 'Amr to enter. 'Amr's entrance was from the side of the stone bridge that is called the Bridge of Sulayman; the entrance of 'Amr ibn al- 'As was the first from the gate of the city that was on the side of the church of gold. Descendants of Ibn Bassamah remain in Alexandria to this day. Hani' ibn al-Mutawakkil related to us that Dimam ibn Isma'il al-Ma 'afiri related to us saying, "Twenty-two Muslim men were killed in Alexandria before it was conquered" [**p.80**].

'Amr ibn al- 'As sent a delegation to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab announcing the conquest, as 'Uthman ibn Salih related to us on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj. Mu 'awiyah asked him, "Would you like to send a letter with me," and 'Amr said to him, "Why should I write a letter, aren't you an Arab man who will convey the message and what you saw and witnessed?" When Mu 'awiyah reached 'Umar, he told him of the conquest of Alexandria and 'Umar knelt in prayer and said, "Praise be to God." 'Abd Allah ibn Yazid al-Muqri related to us on the authority of his father on the authority of Musa ibn Ulayya who said, "I heard Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj saying, "'Amr

ibn al- 'As sent me to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab upon the conquest of Alexandria. I arrived in al-Madinah at midday and I made my camel kneel at the gate of the mosque; then I entered the mosque. While I was sitting there, a slave girl left from the house of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. She saw me haggard, wearing travel cloths and she came toward me and said, 'Who are you?' I said, 'I am Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj, messenger of 'Amr ibn al- 'As,' and she left me. Then she came toward me hurriedly. I heard her walking until she came near me and said, 'Stand up and reply to the Commander of the Faithful who calls you,' and I followed her.[128] When I entered, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab reached for his cloak and covered himself, and he said, 'What news do you have?' I said, 'Good news, oh Commander of the Faithful, God conquered Alexandria,' and he went out with me to the mosque. He said to the muezzin, 'Call the people to prayer,' and the people gathered. Then he said to me, 'Rise and tell your companions, and I rose and informed them. Then he prayed and entered his house and turned his face toward the *qiblah* and prayed.[129] He sat down and said, 'Oh slave girl, is there food?' And she brought bread and oil and he said, 'Eat,' and I ate bashfully. Then he said, 'Eat, indeed the traveler loves food and if I were eating I would eat with you.' I became shy, then he said, 'Oh slave girl, are there any dried dates,' and she brought dates in a tray and he said, 'Eat.' I ate shyly, then he said, 'What did you say, oh Mu 'awiyah, when you came to the mosque?' I said, 'Is the Commander of the Faithful sleeping?' He said, 'What you said was awful. If I slept during the day I would lose the people and if I slept during the night I would lose myself, so where is a place or time for sleep oh Mu 'awiyah?'" [**p.81**].

Then after that 'Amr ibn al- 'As wrote to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, as Ibrahim ibn Sa 'id al-Balawi related to us: "I have conquered a city in which there are four thousand luxuries with four thousand baths and forty thousand Jews, on whom I imposed the

jizyah, and four hundred places of entertainment for the kings." 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Abu Qabil said that when 'Amr ibn al- 'As conquered Alexandria, he found twelve thousand grocers selling produce there.[130] Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr.... to Haywah ibn Shurayh said that when 'Amr ibn al- 'As conquered Alexandria, he found twelve thousand grocers there.[131] Hani' ibn al-Mutawakkil related to us Muhammad ibn Sa 'id al-Hashimi related to us and he said, "I left from Alexandria on the night that 'Amr ibn al- 'As entered it or on the night that seventy thousand Jews feared 'Amr's entrance." Hani' ibn al-Mutawakkil.... to Husayn ibn Shufayy ibn 'Ubayd said that in Alexandria, upon counting the baths, there were one thousand rooms, the smallest of them was wide enough to seat a group of people.[132] And the number of Byzantines who were in Alexandria was 200,000 men. The strongest among them went to Byzantium by ship. There were one hundred of the great ships [in Alexandria] and they carried thirty thousand men and what they were able to carry by way of wealth, supplies and people. The number of those who remained by way of prisoners was 600,000 plus women and children. And the people disagreed with 'Amr about their shares. Most of the people wanted a share of Alexandria. 'Amr said, "I can not decide on their shares until I write to the Commander of the Faithful." He wrote to him telling him of its conquest and its situation, and he told him that the Muslims sought a share of it. 'Umar wrote to him: "Do not divide Alexandria, leave it alone and the *kharaj* will be a *fay* for the Muslims and a force for them in the *jihad* of their enemy."[133] 'Amr carried that out, counted its inhabitants and imposed taxes on them. Egypt was at peace with an obligation of two *dinars* for every man. The amount of the *jizyah* did not exceed more than two *dinars* on every man, except in Alexandria where they paid what the Muslim leader there deemed necessary[134] [**p.82**].

They extended the *kharaj* and the *jizyah* to the extent of what was considered necessary by their governor, because Alexandria was conquered by force without covenant and treaty and therefore did not have the arbitration nor the *dhimmah*. And, as 'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said, 'there were villages in Egypt which fought so the inhabitants were taken prisoners.[135] Among them was a village called Balhib, one called al-Khays and one called Sultays. They took their prisoners to al-Madinah and elsewhere. 'Umar ibn al-Khattab returned them to their villages and made them and the group of Copts the people of the *dhimmah*.' 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that 'Amr took the people of Balhib, Sultays, Qartasa and Sakha as prisoners and they were dispersed.[136] The first group of them reached al-Madinah when they broke the covenant.[137] Then 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote to 'Amr to return them, and he returned who he found among them. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote concerning the people of Sultays: "Especially whoever among you is hostage by your own hands, let him choose between Islam.[138] If he submits, he will be among the Muslims and he will have what they have and he will owe what they will owe. If he chooses his religion, let him go to his village." The Balhibi was given the choice on that day and he chose Islam.[139] Then he returned to the *hadith* of 'Uthman on the authority of Yahya ibn Ayyub, who said that the people of Sultays, Masil and Balhib supported the Byzantines against the Muslims; when the Muslims gained victory over them, they regarded them as fair game and they said, "Those are booty for us along with Alexandria." 'Amr ibn al-'As wrote that to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote to him: "Alexandria and those three villages are *dhimmah* to the Muslims, so put the *kharaj* on them. Their *kharaj*, and what the Copts agreed to, will be a force for the Muslims

against their enemies and you will not make them booty nor slaves." So they did that. It is said rather, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab returned them to the pact that was offered to them. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to 'Awf ibn Hittan said that the pact was for the villages of [**p.83**] Egypt, among them Umm Dunayn and Balhib.[140] When 'Umar heard that, he wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As: "I order you to let them choose, and if they enter into Islam then so be it. If they refuse, return them to their villages." He said, "There were still people among the descendants of the village of Sultays: 'Imran ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Ja 'far ibn Rabi 'ah, Umm 'Iyyad ibn 'Uqbah, Abu 'Ubaydah ibn 'Uqbah, Umm al-'Awn ibn Kharijah al-Qurashi and 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj and the distinguished *mawali* after that who were signed with Marwan ibn al-Hakam, among them were Aban and his uncle, Abu 'Iyyad and 'Abd al-Rahman al-Balhibi."[141]

He who said that Egypt was Conquered by Treaty

He said then he returned to the *hadith* of Musa ibn Ayyub and Rishdayn ibn Sa 'd.... to Husayn ibn Shufayy, who said that when 'Amr conquered Alexandria, the *kharaj* still remained on those prisoners who had come of age.[142] And on that day they counted 600,000 people who were eligible to pay the *kharaj*, which excepted the women and the youth. The people disputed 'Amr over their shares because most of the Muslims wanted a share of it. 'Amr said, "I can not divide it until I write to the Commander of the Faithful," and he wrote to him telling him of its conquest and its situation and that the Muslims demanded its division. 'Umar wrote to him: "Do not divide it but leave it alone: for their *kharaj* is *fay'* for the Muslims and a force for them in the *jihad* of their enemies." 'Amr settled it, counted its [Alexandria's] inhabitants and imposed the *kharaj* over them. All of Egypt was at peace with the duty of two *dinars* on each man. There would be no increase on anyone by way of the *jizyah* more than two *dinars*, except in

Alexandria where it was increased according to the increase in the cultivation of land. They set the *kharaj* and the *jizyah* according to what was decided by their governor, because Alexandria was conquered by force without covenant and contract. They did not have the arbitration nor the covenant of protection [*dhimmah*]. 'Uthman.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that all of Egypt was in treaty relationship except Alexandria, for indeed it was conquered by force.[143] [**p. 84**]

'Uthman ibn Salih.... to 'Amr ibn al- 'As said that the Copts have a covenant with so and so and with so and so and he named three individuals.[144] 'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to an old leader of the army said that the covenant of the people of Egypt was over their leaders.[145] Hisham ibn Ishaq al- 'Amari.... to 'Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Ja 'far, who asked an old man about the conquest of Egypt and he said, "We emigrated to al-Madinah in the days of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, while I was at the age of adolescence, and I witnessed the conquest of Egypt."[146] Abu Ja 'far said to him, "And it is mentioned that they did not have a covenant?" The old man said that he was mindful that whoever did not pray said that they did not have the covenant.[147] And Abu Ja 'far said, "Did they used to have the covenant?" The old man said, "Yes covenants, three covenants, with Talma who was in Ikhna and the covenant with Quzman of Rashid and the covenant with Yuhannas of al-Baralus." And Abu Ja 'far said, "How was their arbitration?" The old man said, "Two *dinars* on every person by way of *jizyah* and livelihood of the Muslims."[148] Abu Ja 'far said, "Do you know what the provisions were?" The old man said, "Yes, six provisions; they will not be removed from their houses and their women will not be taken nor their villages nor their lands, and the tax will not be increased over them." Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr.... to Jum 'ah, *mawla* of 'Uqbah said that 'Uqbah ibn 'Amir wrote to Mu 'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan asking him for land to make use

of adjacent to the village where 'Uqbah lived: Mu 'awiyah wrote to him with one thousand cubits.[149] The *mawla* said to him, "Look, may God bless you and take the best land." 'Uqbah said, "We are not entitled to that because there are six provisions in their covenant: nothing be taken from individuals nor from their women nor from their children and there shall not be an increase upon them by way of taxes. We must protect them when they fear their enemies and I am a witness for them" [**p. 85**].

'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Abu Jum 'ah al-Habib ibn Wahb said that 'Uqbah ibn 'Amir wrote to Mu 'awiyah asking him for a piece of land in a village in which houses and places of residence were built.[150] And Mu 'awiyah gave him one thousand *zira* by one thousand *zira* and his clients told him to look at the land to see if it pleased him, and delineate it and build.[151] He said, "It does not belong to us, they have six provisions in their covenant among them not to take anything from their land nor increase anything over them, not to assign anything other than their capacity to pay, not to take their descendants and to battle their enemies for them." 'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to a leader from the army, who said that Mu 'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan wrote to Wardan to increase a *qarat* over every man among them.[152] And Wardan wrote to Mu 'awiyah: "How can you increase over them when it is in their covenant that nothing is increased over them?" So Mu 'awiyah removed Wardan. It is said that Mu 'awiyah removed Wardan, as Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr related to us. 'Utbah ibn Abi Sufyan went to Mu 'awiyah with a group of the inhabitants of Egypt and Mu 'awiyah put 'Utbah in charge of war and Wardan, the *kharaj*, and Huwayt ibn Zayd, the *diwan*.[153] Mu 'awiyah asked the delegation about 'Utbah and 'Ubadah ibn Summal al-Ma 'afiri said, "He is a whale of the sea, oh Commander of the Faithful, and a mountain goat of the land."[154] And Mu 'awiyah said to 'Utbah, "Listen to what your people say about you." And he

said. "They are right. oh Commander of the Faithful. you removed me from the *kharaj* and they have rights over me. and I did not want to do it. Because. if I'm asked and I did not respond. I appear stingy." and Mu 'awiyah assigned the *kharaj* to him.[155]

'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to 'Awf ibn Hittan said that the villages of Egypt. among them Umm Dunayn and Balhib. had a covenant and 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. may God be pleased with him. when he heard that. wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As ordering him to let them choose.[156] If they entered into Islam then so be it; if they refused. he must return them to their villages. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to [**p.86**] Yahya ibn Maymun al-Hadram said that when 'Amr ibn al- 'As conquered Egypt. there was a settlement of two *dinars* a piece made on every man of the Copts who approached sexual maturity and older.[157] They did not include women nor youth nor old men and therefore in that way they were counted. and their numbers reached eight million. 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to Hisham ibn Abi Ruqayyah al-Lakhmi said that when 'Amr ibn al- 'As conquered Egypt. he said to the Copts of Egypt. "Whoever conceals treasure from me at his home I will come and kill him."[158] Concerning a Nabatean from the inhabitants of Upper Egypt called Butrus. it was mentioned to 'Amr that he had treasure. Therefore. 'Amr sent for him and asked him about it. Butrus pretended to be ignorant of it and denied it. so 'Amr confined him to jail. 'Amr asked about him. "Did they hear him asking about someone?" They said. "No. but we heard him asking about a monk at Mt. Sinai." and 'Amr sent for Butrus and he removed his ring from his hand. Then he wrote to that monk: "Send me what you have." and he sealed it with his ring. His messenger brought him a Syrian jar sealed with lead. which 'Amr opened and found a piece of paper on which was written: "Your wealth is under the great fountain." 'Amr sent people to the fountain where they stopped the flow of water. Then they tore up the

floor [tiles] that were under it and found fifty-two *irdabb*[159]. 'Amr struck off Butrus' head at the gate of the mosque. Ibn Abi Ruqayyah mentioned that the Copts brought out their treasure in the evening for 'Amr for fear that one among them would be killed as Butrus was killed. 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that 'Amr ibn al- 'As regarded the wealth from the Copts of Egypt as fair game because it was established, in his opinion, that he was aiding the Byzantines on the deficiencies of the Muslims.[160] 'Amr wrote to them of such a thing and therefore removed from them fifty odd *irdabbs* of *dinar*s.

Then he returned to the *hadith* of Yahya ibn Ayyub and Khalid ibn Humayd who said that God conquered all of Egypt by treaty except Alexandria and the three villages which assisted the Byzantines against the Muslims: Sultays, Masil, and Balhib. The Byzantines had a garrison, and those villages assisted the Byzantines against the Muslims. When the Muslims triumphed over them, they regarded them as fair game. And the later said, "We have booty with Alexandria." 'Amr ibn al- 'As wrote that to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and 'Umar wrote to him: "Make Alexandria and those three villages [**p.87**] *dhimmah* to the Muslims and place the *kharaj* over them. Their *kharaj* and what arbitration he reached with all of the Copts will be a force of power for the Muslims. Do not make them booty nor slaves," and they did that to this day.

He who said that Egypt was Conquered by Force

And others said rather Egypt was conquered by force without covenant and without contract. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah and 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to Sufyan ibn Wahb al-Khawlan said, "When we conquered Egypt without covenant, al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam rose and said, 'Divide it oh 'Amr ibn al- 'As.[161] And 'Amr said, 'By God I will not divide it.' Al-Zubayr said, 'You must divide it as the Messenger of God divided

Khaybar.' 'Amr said, 'By God I will not divide it until I write to the Commander of the Faithful.' 'Umar wrote to him: 'Implement its division and to not invade them until the children in the bellies of pregnant women become pregnant in their turn."[162] Ibn Lahi 'ah.... to Sufyan ibn Wahb who said this except that he said 'Amr said, "I will not introduce anything new among them until I write to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab," and he wrote to him.[163] He wrote to him something similar to the previous *hadith*. 'Abd al-Malik said in his *hadith* that al-Zubayr was given something to keep him quiet. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah and 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to 'Abd Allah ibn Hubayrah said that Egypt was conquered by force.[164] 'Abd al-Malik.... to the old men who said that Egypt was conquered by force without covenant and contract.[165] And Ibn An 'am said, "Among them was my father who related to us on the authority of his father, who was among those who witnessed the conquest of Egypt." 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to the old men who said that Egypt was conquered by force without covenant and contract.[166]
[p.88]

'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to 'Urwa who said that Egypt was conquered by force.[167] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to 'Amr 'ibn al- 'As, who said, "I have remained at my position and none of the Copts of Egypt has a covenant nor a contract over me except the people of Antabulus.[168] They have a covenant which is carried out for them." Ibn Lahi 'ah said in his *hadith*, "If I want I will kill; if I want I will take one fifth of the loot and if I want, I will sell" [any of the Copts' possessions or land]. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Rabi 'ah ibn Abi 'Abd al-Rahman said that 'Amr ibn al- 'As conquered Egypt without contract or covenant and 'Umar ibn al-Khattab decided that everything in Egypt should be for Islam and its people.[169] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Zayd ibn Aslam said that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab had a chest in which was kept every covenant

between him and between anyone who had a pact.[170] And a covenant was not found in it for the people of Egypt. 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shurayh said, "I did not know whether he related it on the authority of Zayd or just something he said." Whoever among them became a Muslim became the *ummah*, and whoever among them remained became the *dhimmah*. Abu al-Aswad al-Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar and 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to the *mawali* of the Quraysh.[171] He said Hayyan wrote 'to Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz asking him to put the *jizyah* of the dead Copts over their living ones. 'Umar [not the caliph] asked 'Irak ibn Malik and 'Irak said, "I did not hear that they had a covenant or a contract, rather that they were taken by force in the rank of slave." 'Umar [not the caliph] wrote to Hayyan ibn Shurayj to put the *jizyah* of the dead Copts over their living ones. He said that he heard Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr saying that [**p.89**] Abu Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Rahman came out in a ship heading towards Alexandria, but he needed a man to row it so two men from the Copts mocked him for this. He said, "But they are in the rank of the slave if we need them." 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to al-Salt ibn Abi 'Asim, who read the letter of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz to Hayyan ibn Surayj that said that Egypt was conquered by force without covenant or contract.[172] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to 'Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Ja 'far said that the secretary of Hayyan told him that he needed some wood for the island's industry, and Hayyan wrote to 'Umar mentioning that to him and that he found wood at the home of one of the *dhimmis*.[173] He said that he hated to take it from them until he informed 'Umar. And 'Umar wrote to him: "Take it from them with fair value.[174] I did not find a covenant for the people of Egypt to abide by." 'Abd al-Rahman.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz wrote to Hayyan ibn Surayj that Egypt was conquered by force without covenant or contract.[175] 'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn

Ka 'b ibn Abi Lubabah said that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz said to Salim ibn 'Abd Allah. "You are saying the people of Egypt do not have a covenant?"[176] He said. "Yes." Asad ibn Musa.... to the grandfather of 'Amr ibn Shu 'ayb said that 'Amr ibn al- 'As wrote to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab: "There are monks who are God fearing in Egypt: what happens if one of them dies and he does not have an heir?"[177] 'Umar wrote to him: "Those among them who have offspring. leave his heritage to his offspring. He who does not have offspring. leave his wealth to the treasury of the Muslims. for his allegiance is for the Muslims." Yahya ibn Khalid.... to Ibn Shihab who said that some of the conquest of Egypt was with covenant and *dhimmah* and some of it was by force. and 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. may God be satisfied with him. made it all *dhimmah* and he convinced them of that and that continues today.[178] [**p.90**]

Property

'Uthman ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that when 'Amr ibn al- 'As conquered Alexandria and he saw its houses and buildings empty. he was about to settle in them for they were dwellings to which they had a right.[179] He wrote to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab asking him permission for that and 'Umar asked the messenger. "Does water pass between me and the Muslims?" He said. "Yes. when the Nile flows. oh Commander of the Faithful." And 'Umar wrote to 'Amr: "I do not prefer that the Muslims settle where the water passes between us in the rainy season [winter] nor in summer either." So 'Amr ibn al- 'As turned from Alexandria to al-Fustat. 'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote to Sa 'd ibn Abi Waqqas while he was settled in Ctesiphon of Khusraw and to his agent in al-Basrah and to 'Amr ibn al- 'As while he was settled in Alexandria: "Do not put water between us. for when I want to ride my camel to you. I can come."[180] Sa 'd ibn Abi Waqqas

turned from Ctesiphon of Khusraw to al-Kufah. the governor of al-Basrah turned from the place he was in and settled at al-Basrah. and 'Amr ibn al- 'As turned from Alexandria to al-Fustat. He said it was called al-Fustat. as Abu 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr said. because when 'Amr ibn al- 'As wanted to go toward Alexandria to battle the Byzantines there, he ordered the removal of his tent. but a dove had hatched her young on it.[181] 'Amr ibn al- 'As said. "Indeed she had made it sacred for us," and he ordered this and it was kept as it was. So when the Muslims came back from Alexandria and they wondered where to make camp. they said. "Al-Fustat because of the tent 'Amr left behind." And it was set up in the place of the house. which is known today as the House of the Pebbles which is adjacent to the small house of 'Amr today.[182]

And 'Amr ibn al- 'As built the mosque and what was around it by way of gardens and vineyards. as 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd [**p.91**]. They raised the ropes in order to get it straight. took measurements. and 'Amr stayed until they placed the *qiblah*. 'Amr. and the companions of the Messenger of God who built it. constructed a *minbar* there. as can be seen from the *hadith* of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Abu Tamim al-Jayshani. who said that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote to him: "It has come to my attention that you established a *minbar* in order to ascend over the necks of the Muslims.[183] Do you not see that you are standing and the Muslims are under your heels? I have resolved that you should tear it down." 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Abu Muslim al-Ghafiqi said that a companion of the Messenger of God used to call for pray for 'Amr ibn al- 'As and that he saw this muezzin using incense in the mosque.[184]

He said the people delineated [houses. land. etc.]. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to

Abu Salih al-Ghifari said that 'Amr ibn al- 'As wrote to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab: "We have delineated a house for you at the congregational mosque."[185] 'Umar wrote to him: "I'm wondering how a man in the Hijaz has a house in Egypt," and he ordered him to make it a market for the Muslims. Ibn Lahi 'ah said that it was the House of the Pond, and that it was made into a market where slaves were sold.[186] Thus said Ibn Lahi 'ah. He said "And as for al-Layth ibn Sa 'd, 'Abd al-Malik related to us on his authority that the House of the Pond was property belonging to 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, and 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan asked for it. 'Abd Allah gave it to him, but Marwan did not give him anything for it." Ahmad ibn 'Amr.... to Salim ibn 'Abd Allah said that 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar witnessed the conquest of Egypt, and he delineated the House of the Pond there.[187] He said, "I gave it to Mu 'awiyah hoping that he would repay me for it, but he did not pay for it before he died."

And those whose names are remembered are those who witnessed the conquest of Egypt, and they are among the companions of the Messenger of God from the Quraysh and others, as well as those who did not have a companionship with the Messenger of God, as 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us [**p.92**] and some one other than 'Abd al-Malik has related some of that also. Those companions are as follows: Al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam, Sa 'd ibn Abi Waqqas, and 'Amr ibn al- 'As, who was commander of the people, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr, Kharijah ibn Hudhafah al- 'Adawi, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, Qays ibn Abi al- 'As al-Sahmi, al-Miqdad ibn al-Aswad, 'Abd Allah ibn Sa 'd ibn Abi Sarh al- 'Amari, Nafi' ibn 'Abd al-Qays al-Fihri, who is called 'Uqbah ibn Nafi', Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Yazid ibn Anas al-Fihri, Abu Rafi', who is *mawla* of the Messenger of God, Ibn 'Abadah, 'Abd al-Rahman and Rabi 'ah, who are sons of Shurahbil ibn Hasanah, and Wardan, who was *mawla* of 'Amr ibn al- 'As while he was the standard

bearer of 'Amr ibn al- 'As. However, there is disagreement concerning Sa 'd ibn Abi Waqqas, rather it was said that he entered Egypt after the conquest. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd that Sa 'd ibn Abi Waqqas arrived in Egypt.

Those of the *Ansar* who witnessed the conquest were as follows: 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit, who had witnessed Badr and the *bay 'ah* of al- 'Aqabah. Muhammad ibn Maslamah al-Ansari, who had witnessed Badr and was the one who 'Umar ibn al-Khattab sent to Egypt and who shared his wealth with 'Amr ibn al- 'As while he was one of those who ascended the fortress with al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam.[188] And Maslamah ibn Mukhallad al-Ansari; he has a companionship. They informed us on the authority of Waki 'ah. Musa ibn 'Ulayyah related to us on the authority of his father who said that he heard Maslamah ibn Mukhallad saying, "I was born when the Prophet of God arrived in al-Madinah and the Messenger of God died when I was ten years old." And he governed the country in the days of Mu 'awiyah and the beginning of the caliphate of Yazid, and Maslamah died in Egypt in the year sixty-two. And Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, his name was Khaild ibn Zayd, and he had witnessed Badr and he died in Castantaniyah in the year fifty. And Abu al-Darda', whose name was 'Uwaymar. Ibn Hisham 'Uwaymar ibn 'Amir said, "It is said 'Uwaymar ibn Zayd." And among the [individual] people of the various tribes included [**p.93**] were: Abu Basrah al-Ghifari, whose name was Humayl ibn Basrah, and Abu Dharr al-Ghifari whose name was Jundub ibn Junadah. And it is also said that Burayr was his name. Ibn Hisham said, "I heard more than one of the *'ulama'* saying Abu Dharr Jundub ibn Junadah." 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that Abu Dharr was among those who witnessed the conquest with 'Amr ibn al- 'As.[189] And on the authority of Hubayb

ibn Mughfil, they have one *hadith* which was the *hadith* of Ibn Lahi 'ah.... to Hubayb ibn Mughfil who said that he heard the Messenger of God saying, "Whoever drags his *izarah*, he will tread on it in hell."[190] The Wadi Hubayb in the Maghrib is ascribed to him. And 'Abd Allah ibn Harith ibn Jaz' al-Zubaydi, whose name was al- 'As, but the Messenger of God called him 'Abd Allah. 'Abd Allah ibn Salih and Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr....to 'Abd Allah ibn al-Harith ibn Jaz' al-Zubaydi, who said that a Muslim died and the Messenger of God said while he was at the grave site, "What is your name," and he said, "Al- 'As."[191] The Messenger of God said to Ibn 'Amr, "What is your name," and he said, "Al- 'As," and he said to al- 'As ibn al- 'As, "What is your name," and he said, "Al- 'As." The Messenger of God said, "Al- 'As, you all are named 'Abd Allah," and, al-Zubaydi said, "We buried our companion. Then we left the graveyard and our names were changed." And Ka 'b ibn Dinnah al- 'Absi, who was Ka 'b ibn Yasar ibn Dinnah. And 'Uqbah ibn 'Amir al-Juhani, who was called by the *kunyah* of Abu Hammad and who was the messenger of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab to 'Amr ibn al- 'As when he wrote to him ordering him to return if he had not entered Egypt. And Abu Zam 'ah al-Balawi and Birh ibn Huskul, who were among those who came to the Messenger of God from the Mahrah. Birh ibn Huskul witnessed the conquest with 'Amr and delineated property there. Thus, Ibn 'Ufayr Birh ibn Huskul and the Mahriyun say Birh ibn 'Uskul [**p.94**]. And Junadah ibn Abi Umayyah al-Azdi. And Sufyan ibn Wahb al-Khawlani, he had a companionship. 'Amr ibn Sawwad.... to Sufyan ibn Wahb al-Khawlani, who said that he heard the Messenger of God saying, "No one reaches one hundred and stays on this earth."[192] He said, "I related it to Ibn Hujayrah. And he rose and entered upon 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan and he said, 'Sufyan was carried while he was a very old man until he was brought to 'Abd al-Aziz ibn Marwan and he asked him about the *hadith*

and he related it to him.' 'Abd al- 'Aziz said, 'Perhaps he means no one who was with him would remain beyond the age of one hundred.'" Sufyan said, "Thus I heard the Messenger of God saying." And Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj al-Kindi, who was the messenger of 'Amr ibn al- 'As to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab at the conquest of Alexandria. There is disagreement in the case of Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj, for the people said he did not have a companionship. They justified that in a *hadith* which my father, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, and Sha 'ib ibn al-Layth and 'Abd Allah ibn Salih related.... to Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj, who said that the Messenger of God prayed one day and ended before it was over.[193] He departed with one *rak 'ah* still remaining of the prayer. A man overtook him and said, "There is one *rak 'ah* left of the prayer." Muhammad returned and entered the mosque and prayed with the people for one *rak 'ah*. Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj informed the people of that incident and they said, "Do you know the man?" He said, "No but if I saw him, I might recognize him." And others said that he does not have a companionship, and they argued with a *hadith* which Yusuf ibn 'Adi related.... to Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj, who said, "We emigrated in the era of Abu Bakr, may God have mercy on him, and while we were at his place he ascended the *minbar* and praised God and extolled Him.[194] Then he said, 'The head of Yunaq, the Patriarch, was brought to us and we did not have a need for it. But this is the tradition of the '*Ajam*.' Then he said, 'Rise oh 'Uqbah,' and a man who was called 'Uqbah rose and he said, 'I did not mean you but I meant 'Uqbah ibn 'Amir, rise oh 'Uqbah.' An eloquent man rose and the recital of the opening of the *surah* of the cow was recited then he mentioned their battle and what God conquered for them. I still love him [the man reciting the surah] to this day." 'Amir was a *mawla* to Jamal, who was called 'Amir Jamal, who witnessed the conquest while he was a slave. But it was said to him, "But he was called 'Amir Jamal."

'Amir Jamal was with 'Amr ibn al- 'As at the place of Mu 'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan and 'Amir said, [**p. 95**] "'Amr tell him that I support you." And Mu 'awiyah said to him, "And who are you?" He said, "I am 'Amir, *mawla* to Jamal." Mu 'awiyah said to him, "Rather you are 'Amir Jamal," and he was called 'Amir Jamal because of that statement made by Mu 'awiyah.

Among them of the people of Badr were six individuals including: al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwam, Sa 'd ibn Abi Waqqas, al-Miqdad ibn al-Aswad, 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit, Abu Ayyub al-Ansari and Muhammad ibn Maslamah. 'Ammar ibn Yasir had entered Egypt, but he entered it after the conquest in the days of 'Uthman. 'Abd al-Hamid ibn al-Walid.... to al-Sha 'bi, who said that 'Ammar ibn Yasir entered Egypt in the days of 'Uthman ibn 'Affan, who sent him there concerning one of his orders. On the authority, of 'Ammar ibn Yasir, they have one *hadith*.[195] Abu al-Aswad al-Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar.... to Abu al-Yaqdhan 'Ammar ibn Yasir who said, "Rejoice, for by God, you are stronger in love for the Messenger of God than the masses of those who had seen him."[196]

He said that among them some delineated in Egypt and we mentioned their division, but among them were some who did not get any property; only God knows how the matter was concerning that. He said that 'Amr ibn al- 'As delineated his house that today is at the gate of the mosque, and between these two buildings is the road. Another of his houses is adjacent to the side of that house. And 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr ibn al- 'As is buried there, as was claimed by some of the old men of the country because a certain event happened in the country that day [which they associated with him].[197] Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr related to us saying that 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr ibn al- 'As died at his property in al-Sabr in Palestine. It is said rather that he died in

Makkah. only God knows. And he is called by the *kunyah* of Abu Muhammad. and his death was in the year seventy-three. On his authority. the people of Egypt have approximately one hundred *hadiths* from the authority of the Prophet. And the bath. which is called the Bath of the Mouse. was called the Bath of the Mouse because the Byzantines had built great bathhouses. When this bath was built they saw its smallness and they said. "Who would enter this. this bath of a mouse" [**p.96**].

Concerning the house of 'Amr that was there. it is said rather that 'Amr delineated a house for himself in the area in which was the house of Ibn Abi al-Razzam.

And 'Abd Allah. his son. delineated this great house that was at the congregational mosque. and it was he who built this building. He built a huge building as squared as the first *Ka 'bah.*[198] Those who claim that this great house that was at the mosque was property belonging to 'Amr himself justify it with the *hadith* of Ibn Lahi 'ah.... to 'Amr ibn al- 'As. who said that a man among the companions of the Messenger of God informed him that the Messenger of God said. "God had added a prayer for you." and they performed it.[199] It was between the prayers of evening and morning. and it is called *al-Witr.*[200] The man who informed them about it was Abu al-Basrah al-Ghifari. Abu Tamim al-Jayshani said. "I and Abu Dharr were sitting together and Abu Dharr took me by the hand and we hurried to Abu Basrah. whom we found at the door [of the mosque. probably] that led to the house of 'Amr. Abu Dharr said. 'Oh Abu Basrah you heard the Messenger of God saying that God gave us another prayer. which is called Witr. and is between the prayers of evening and morning?' He said. 'Yes.' He said. 'You heard it?' He said. 'Yes.'" Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr related some of it to us on the authority of Ibn Hubayrah. and 'Amr ibn Sawwad related it to us on the authority of Ibn Wahb on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah and Talq ibn al-Samh had related to me on

the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah on the authority of Ibn Hubayrah on the authority of Abu Tamim al-Jayshani.[201]

They have numerous *hadiths* on the authority of 'Amr on the authority of the Prophet. Among them is the *hadith* of Musa ibn 'Ulayyah.... to 'Amr ibn al- 'As, who said that the Prophet said, "The difference between our fasting and the fasting of the People of the Book is the meal at dawn."[202] My father related it to us on the authority of al-Layth on the authority of Musa ibn 'Ulayyah, and 'Abd Allah ibn Salih related it to us on the authority of Musa ibn 'Ulayyah himself. And among them was the *hadith* of Nafi' ibn Yazid.... to 'Amr ibn al- 'As, who said that the Messenger of God recited fifteen prostrations in the Qur'an in front of him, among them one-third in detail and two prostrations in the surah of the *Hajj*.[203] Sa 'id ibn Abi Maryam related it to us also [**p.97**].

Those who Delineated around the Congregational Mosque with 'Amr ibn al- 'As

The Quraysh, the Ansar, Aslan, Ghifar and Juhaynah delineated around the properties of 'Amr and the mosque. Those who were under the banner, whose tribes did not have a [large] number of people, were with 'Amr during the conquest.

Wardan, *mawla* to 'Amr, delineated the palace that is known as the Palace of 'Amr ibn Marwan. However, it is attributed to 'Umar ibn Marwan because Antanas, the leader of the army and responsible for the *kharaj* of Maslamah, asked Mu 'awiyah that he build him a place near the *diwan*.[204] Mu 'awiyah wrote to Maslamah ibn Mukhallad ordering him to buy the place of Wardan (for 'Antanas), and delineate a new place for Wardan wherever he wished. Antanas took the house and Maslamah sent al-Simt, *mawla* of Maslamah, with Wardan and ordered him to bestow the amount of a bow shot on him. They went out together until they stopped at the way station for camels. That

area was an empty expanse for the Muslims, which was located between them and the sea. Al-Simt said to Wardan, "Indeed today we will know the excellence of the Persians over the Byzantines" [in regards to shooting skill]. Al-Simt was Persian and Wardan was Byzantine. Al-Simt expanded his bow, shot its arrows, and Wardan marked them off. When Antanas died, the house was granted to 'Umar ibn Marwan. Wardan was called by the *kunyah* of Abu 'Ubayd. It is said that the Palace of 'Umar ibn Marwan was among the property of the al- Azd, and 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan bought that house and gave it to his brother, 'Umar ibn Marwan. The al-Azd owned it because the alley that ran from the Palace of 'Umar ibn Marwan went to the stable and the stable was among the property of the al-Azd. Qays ibn Sa 'd ibn 'Ubadah marked off (in the direction of the *qiblah* of the congregational mosque) the House of Pepper, and it was a vast territory. He built it when he governed the country. 'Ali ibn Abi Talib appointed him to the governorship, but then he removed him. The people used to say that it was his until it was mentioned to him.[205] He said, "Which house in Egypt belongs to me," and they reminded him. He said, "But I built it from the wealth of the Muslims, I have no right to it." It is said that when Qays ibn Sa 'd was ready to die, he decreed [a will] and said, "I built a house in Egypt while I was governor, but I built it with the aid of the Muslims so it belongs to the Muslims. Let them use it for their leaders to live in." On Qays' authority on the authority of the Prophet, they have two *hadiths*. One of them is that the Messenger of God said, [**p.98**] "The owner of the riding animal has the right of the chest of his riding animal."[206] Abu al-Aswad related this to us from Ibn Lahi 'ah who related it to us on the authority of 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Mulayl on the authority of 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi Umayyah on the authority of Qays ibn Sa 'd. It is said rather that the House of Pepper and the House of al-Zalabiya` that was next to it

belonged to Nafi' ibn 'Abd al-Qays al-Fihri. And it is said rather it belonged to 'Uqbah ibn Nafi', but Qays ibn Sa 'd took it from him and exchanged it for a house of the Fihriyun that was located in the Alley of the Lamps. And it is said rather that that house was the property of 'Uqbah ibn Nafi'. And it is said rather that the House of Pepper belonged to Sa 'd ibn Abi Waqqas, who donated it to the Muslims because he was content with his house that was at the station, only God knows. It is said that his house, which was at the station and is known as al-Funduq [the house is known as this], was not the property of Sa 'd but it belonged to the *mawla* of Sa 'd. When he died, the family of Sa 'd inherited it from the *mawla*. However, it was called the House of Pepper because 'Usamah ibn Zayd al-Tanukhi, when he administered the *kharaj* of Egypt, bought pepper from Musa ibn Wardan for twenty thousand *dinar*s. Al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik has written about that: "He wanted to give it to the master of the Byzantines and stored it in his house. Musa ibn Wardan complained of that to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz, when he was caliph, and *'Umar* wrote that it be given to Wardan." Talq ibn al-Samah related to us Dimam ibn Isma 'il related to us that Musa ibn Wardan related to him on the authority of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz and he told him the *hadith* on the authority of those whom had been alive at the time of the Messenger of God and who were still alive.[207] Wardan said, "I was at his house. I entered if I wanted and left if I wanted, and I had informed him of the situation on the authority of who I met from the companions of the Messenger of God. I asked him to order Hayyan ibn Surayj to pay me twenty thousand *dinar*s as part of the price of the House of Pepper. He said to me, 'To whom are the twenty thousand dinars?' I said, 'It is for me.' He said, 'From where did you get it?' I said to him, 'I was a merchant,' and he struck the ground with his scepter. Then he said, 'The merchant lies and is in the fire [in hell].' Then he said,

'Write to Hayyan ibn Surayj'" [**p. 99**].

"I did not enter on him after that and he ordered his doorman not to let me in." The House of al-Zalabiya` became the property of Ibn Abi Bakr. But it is said the House of al-Zalabiya` was the property of 'Abdah ibn 'Abdah.

Maslamah ibn Mukhallad delineated the house of al-Raml and Abu Rafi', *mawla* of the Messenger of God, delineated the same place, sharing it with Maslamah. 'Uqbah ibn 'Amir al-Juhani delineated it with them also. When Maslamah ibn Mukhallad became governor, Mu 'awiyah asked him for his house and he gave it to him. At the Market of Wardan, he delineated a house for him which had a bath. Then it came to belong to the Banu Abi Bakr ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz, and the Banu al- 'Abbas obtained it when they obtained the wealth of the Banu Marwan. Ibn Shafi' Salih ibn 'Ali praised him and he granted it for him. But it came to belong to the Banu Abu Bakr ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. Maslamah ibn Mukhallad died without a male heir, and his daughter Umm Sahl, daughter of Maslamah (and to her Munya Umm Sahl is attributed) with his two wives and his relatives of the Banu Abu Dujanah inherited the wealth of Maslamah ibn Mukhallad.[208] After Maslamah's death, 'Abd al- 'Aziz married the two wives of Maslamah, and paid off the twenty thousand *dinar*s which Maslamah still owed. Abu Bakr ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz married Maslamah's daughter, Umm Sahl ibnat Maslamah. Therefore, in the inheritance, that which came to them by way of Maslamah's belongings, they inherited from their wives. The house of Maslamah extended from the millstone of the lake to the bath of the Market of Wardan to what came to belong to 'Abd al- 'Aziz and to Abu Bakr ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz. Of the area of Munya Umm Sahl, Abu Bakr had what he inherited from his wife, Umm Sahl. What was in the hands of the other people of that property belonged to Ibn Ashtar al-Sadafi, the Banu Wardan, Hammadah

ibnat Muhammad and to Musa ibn 'Ulayyah and from what Yahya ibn Sa 'id Misr al-Ansari had sold from the rights of the relatives of Maslamah belonged to others as well. The relatives had authorized al-Ansari to sell that property, and because of that Yahya ibn Sa 'id arrived in Egypt. Also, the house known as the House of al-Maghazil in the al-Hamra', was part of what Yahya ibn Sa 'id sold and thus was property that was connected with this situation. Ibn Wardan and Ibn Miskin bought it from him. As Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr related to us on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah, I think he was in charge of the mills in the days of 'Amr. Mu 'awiyah also bought the House of 'Uqbah ibn 'Amr and delineated another house for him in the space facing the street leading up to the House of Mahfudh ibn Sulayman. And the property was from the great line to the sea.[209] But it is said that Maslamah ibn Mukhallad granted it for 'Uqbah and 'Uqbah considered it for his daughter, Umm Kulthum ibnat 'Uqbah. It was possible that it was Maslamah who granted the new property for 'Uqbah, by order of Mu 'awiyah, as a substitute for what Mu 'awiyah took from him by way of his house. The House of Abu Rafi' had come to his *mawla*, the *mawla* of Abu Rafi' [**p.100**].

Mu 'awiyah bought it from him and granted him a house at Hayz al-Wuz. But it is said that al-Miqdad ibn al-Aswad delineated a house which was next to the House of al-Raml; and the house belonged to 'Uqbah ibn 'Amir who had his property next to it. 'Uqbah bought the house of al-Miqdad ibn al-Aswad, tore it down and tore down his house and built them together as one house for Ramlah ibnat Mu 'awiyah. Mu 'awiyah wrote to him: "We do not need this; give it to the Muslims." And for Ramlah it was called the House of al-Raml [sand], because they were calling it the House of Ramlah and the people corrupted that and said the House of Sand instead. However, it is said that it was called the House of Sand because of what was transported to it by way of

sand from the House of al-Darb. I heard Yahya ibn Bukayr, which I think I heard only from him and not from others, calling al-Miqdad by the *kunyah* of Abu Ma 'bad. Ya 'qub ibn Ishaq ibn Abi 'Abbad.... to Hilal ibn Yasa said that the Messenger of God used al-Miqdad on a raiding party.[210] When he returned, the Messenger of God said to him, "How did you find the role of leadership, oh Abu Ma 'bad?" He said, "I went, oh Messenger of God, but I did not see that I did anything special for the people. However, when I returned they seemed to treat me with great respect." He said, "This is leadership, oh Abu Ma 'bad, except who God preserves from its evil."[211] He said, "I swear by the one who sent you with the true message, I will never do that job." He said that it was Mu 'awiyah who wrote to 'Uqbah ibn 'Amir, when he appointed him as successor, asking him to deliver the house to Yazid because of its nearness to the mosque and in exchange to give him something better. He did it, and Mu 'awiyah gave him his house that was in the Market of Wardan. He built the lower level of the House of Sand for Yazid, and Mu 'awiyah also granted Yazid one of the villages of al-Fayyum. However, the people attached great importance to that gift and they spoke about it a great deal. So when that reached Mu 'awiyah, the speech of the people distressed him. He returned that village to the *kharaj* as it belonged to the Muslims.[212] And he made the Houses of Sand as residences for the governors of the Muslims who stayed there. None of the house was built except its lower level until al-Qasim ibn 'Ubayd Allah ibn al- Habhab built its upper level. Abu al-Aswad al-Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar.... to Fadalah ibn 'Ubayd, who said, "We were at Mu 'awiyah's one day and Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj was there.[213] Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj was like the *al-tunni* camel that puts forward one leg and keeps the other behind. He would start to speak, and if the Arabs approved of his ideas, he would carry out his intent. If they questioned it, he would

stop, and refrain from implementing it. On a certain day, he said, 'I do not know in which book of God you find this livelihood and gift.[214] How about we withhold it. ' And Mu 'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan struck Ibn Hudayj between his shoulders several times until we thought that he would be hurt" [**p.101**].

"Then he said, 'No, and by the one God (who controls my soul by his hand), oh Ibn Abi Sufyan we will surely fight for the *kharaj* then you will not be left with either a *dinar* or a *dirham*.' And Mu 'awiyah fell silent." Mu 'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan is called by the *kunyah* of Abu Abd al-Rahman, and Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj by Abu Nu 'aym. The *diwan* in the time of Mu 'awiyah was forty thousand, and four thousand were [stacked in bunches] of two hundred, as Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr related to us on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah.[215] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us Ibn Wahb related to us on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah on the authority of Razin ibn 'Abd Allah who said the likes of this *hadith* and added more. But 600,000 in excess of the gifts of the army was attributed to Mu 'awiyah.[216] Hani'.... to Abu Qabi said that Mu 'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan had put two men in charge of every tribe of the Arabs, and there was a man in charge of the al-Ma 'afir called al-Hasan.[217] When the morning came every day, he went around the council houses saying whether there was a new-born or a camper, or whether a boy was born to so and so and a girl to so and so. He would say what their names were and then write down the names. He said, for example, that a man from the people of al-Yaman stopped there with his dependents and they named him and his dependents. When he finished recording the names of the members of all the tribes, he came to the *diwan*. The *diwan*, in the days of Mu 'awiyah, had forty thousand *dinar*s[?], four thousand [stacked in bunches] of two hundred, as Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr related to us that Ibn Lahi 'ah claimed. Ibn 'Ufayr said in his *hadith*, on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah, that

Maslamah ibn Mukhallad gave the people of the *diwan* their salaries, the salaries of their dependents and their livelihoods. He also gave them money for their disasters, the disasters of the country and the support of the scribes and for carrying wheat to the Hijaz.[218] 600,000 *dinars* in excess were sent to Mu 'awiyah. Ibn 'Ufayr said that the camels were herded together for Mu 'awiyah and Birh ibn Huskul met them and he said, "What's this, why is our wealth removed from our country?" He asked them to return it to them and he went to the mosque and said, "You took your salary, money for your livelihood and the salary of your dependents and money for disasters?" They said, "Yes," and he said, "May God not bless them.'"[219] He said, and the quarter of Birh ibn Huskul is at the House of Zunayn in the alley that is known as the Avenue of the Grain Merchant.

Qays ibn Abi al- 'As al-Sahmi delineated his house that was at the House of Ibn Rummanah, and the House of Ibn Rummanah was between al-Sahmi's house and the mosque. Some of the house encroached on the mosque when 'Abd Allah ibn Tahir increased its width [**p.102**].

'Amr ibn al- 'As put him in charge of judiciary. Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr related to Ibn La hi 'ah, who said that Qays ibn Abi al- 'As was in Egypt when 'Amr ibn al- 'As put him in charge of the judiciary.

Qays ibn Abi al- 'As 'Abd Allah ibn al-Harith ibn Jaz` al-Zubaydi delineated the House of Ibn Rummanah and what was near it next to the Alley of the Marble. 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwan bought that and gave it to the son of Rummanah when he arrived. He did not add anything extra to it. What remained belonged to al-Asbagh ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. The house of 'Abd Allah was near the mosque, while south of the gate today is the washing place of the treasury. Ibn Rummanah was with 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan in

the administrative office, and 'Abd al- 'Aziz had given a ring, which belonged to him, to Ibn Rummanah. After what happened to 'Abd al- 'Aziz, Ibn Rummanah arrived from the Hijaz on a camel saddled with only a small piece of cloth and he said to the chamberlain, "Permit me to see the commander." As the chamberlain was reluctant, Ibn Rummanah said to him, "Permit me today and I will help you tomorrow." The chamberlain entered on 'Abd al- 'Aziz and told him of what he said, and 'Abd al- 'Aziz said, "Show him in." When Ibn Rummanah entered on him he spoke to him. He removed his ring for 'Abd al- 'Azizm, who recognized it. 'Abd al-' Aziz removed his own ring and gave it to Ibn Rummanah. He then built a house for him, and planted the date palms at the District of Hulwan for Ibn Rummanah's family. These date palms belong to his descendants today. 'Abd al- 'Aziz was also the one who planted the date palm for 'Umayr ibn Mudhrik that was at al-Gizah and that was known as the Garden of 'Umayr. The reason for that, was as Abu 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam related to us. 'Umayr ibn Mudhrik had planted it to produce varieties of fruit, and when he succeeded he asked 'Abd al- 'Aziz to go and see it. 'Abd al- 'Aziz went out with him and when he saw it, 'Abd al- 'Aziz said to him, "Give it to me,' and he gave it to him. 'Abd al- 'Aziz sent for the master of al-Jazirah [island in the Nile] and he said to him, "If Friday comes and a tree is still standing, I will cut off your hand." There were five hundred workers and supplies for fire. And the master of al-Jazirah came with them and they cut down the tree and its fruit. 'Umayr felt the loss of his trees. Therefore, when that task was finished, 'Abd al- 'Aziz ordered the off shoots to be transferred to him as a gift, and he planted them as date palms. When they bore fruit, 'Abd al- 'Aziz went out to look at them with 'Umayr, and he said to him, "Where is that," to which 'Umayr said, "Where this stands from what was before, is what the commander obtained."[220] 'Abd al- 'Aziz

said. "It is for you and is a bequest to your descendants." and it belongs to them to today.

'Abd Allah ibn al-Harith Thawban. *mawla* of the Messenger of God. delineated at the side of the trees. but it is said he is 'Ajlan. *mawla* to Qays ibn Abi al- 'As [**p.103**].

And it is the house that Salamah. *mawla* to Salih ibn 'Ali. expanded in the mosque.

'Ubadah ibn al-Samit delineated next to Ibn Rummanah. If you go to the Market of the Bath. it is the house that JuJu. the muezzin. lived in and a house next to it. 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan bought one of them and the other went to the Banu Miskin.

Kharijah ibn Hudhafah delineated at the western mosque. His property ran between the mosque and the House of Thawban. and opposite the street light and up to the old fountain to the Owner of al-Hinna and al-Sawiq and between the mosque and the road. Al-Rabi 'ah ibn Kharijah was an orphan in the care of 'Abd al- 'Aziz. When al-Rabi 'ah reached manhood. 'Abd al- 'Aziz bought al-Rabi 'ah's house for ten thousand *dinar*s for al-Asbagh ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz. When 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz became governor. al-Rabi 'ah rode to the governor and brought out a letter of property for the house. 'Umar returned the house to al-Rabi 'ah after al-Rabi 'ah returned the money to 'Abd al- 'Aziz. Al-Rabi 'ah asked 'Umar to be able to rent out the house. and 'Umar said that renting was not allowed in the responsibility and he ['Umar] returned the house to al-Rabi 'ah. However. 'Umar did not allow him to collect rent. Al-Layth ibn Sa 'd said. "I saw al-Rabi 'ah there when I was a boy." Then al-Asbagh quarreled over it with him and Ibn Shihab settled it on that day. Ibn Shihab settled the house for Ibn Kharijah who seized it and did not obtain the rent of the owner from whoever was close to him.[221] Then he argued with Yazid ibn 'Abd al-Malik after 'Umar [who had ordered the rent paid for al-Rabi 'ah by al-Asbagh] had settled the rent for him. and the Banu al-Asbagh paid

the rent until the death of Yazid. After that, the issue was referred to Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik. He decided the Banu al-Asbagh should not pay rent and he returned the previously-paid rent to the Banu al-Asbagh.

Shu 'ayb ibn al-Layth and 'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to Kharijah ibn Hudhafah said that he was the first to build an upper room in Egypt.[222] When that reached 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, he wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As: "Greetings, it has reached me that Kharijah ibn Hudhafah built a room, and indeed Kharijah wanted to look down on the privacy of his neighbors. When this letter of mine reaches you, tear it down if God wishes, Peace."

The people of Egypt had one *hadith* on the authority of Kharijah ibn Hudhafah on the authority of the Prophet, but they do not have another from the Prophet. The one they have is the *hadith* of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd who, on the authority of Yazid ibn Abi Habib on the authority of [**p.104**] 'Abd Allah ibn Rashid al-Zawfi on the authority of 'Abd Allah ibn Abi Murrah al-Zawfi on the authority of Kharijah ibn Hudhafah, said, "The Messenger of God came out to us and he said, 'God had provided you in the prayer and it is better for you than the best of bounties.'" *Al-Witr*, is between the evening and dawn prayers. My father and Shu 'ayb ibn al-Layth and 'Abd Allah ibn Salih related it to us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd. And they had stories on his authority about himself. Kharijah ibn Hudhafah was in command of the guards of 'Amr ibn al-'As in the days of 'Amr and the days of Mu 'awiyah until the *Khariji* killed him. Kharijah was killed because something upset 'Amr ibn al- 'As's stomach and he appointed Kharijah as successor in his house. Therefore, Kharijah gave the people the evening meal on that day. The *Haruri* hit him because he thought that he was 'Amr.[223] When he learned that he was not 'Amr, he said, "I wanted 'Amr and God wanted Kharijah." 'Amr used to say, "My stomach is of no use to me except that day." Mu 'awiyah ibn

Salih.... to the father of Wahb ibn Jarir who said that the *Haruri* went in order to kill 'Amr ibn al- 'As in Egypt.[224] When he arrived there, there was a man eating who had governed the guard of 'Amr: he thought that he was 'Amr and so attacked and killed him. When he was introduced to 'Amr, he said, "By God I wanted only you, however God did not answer me and he killed the man." But it was said that Kharijah was killed in Syria, only God knows. 'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to al-Zuhri, who told me that three individuals from the inhabitants of al- 'Iraq met at the *Ka 'bah* and planned the killing of Mu 'awiyah, 'Amr ibn al- 'As and Habib ibn Maslamah.[225] They started out after the election of Mu 'awiyah to the caliphate and arrived at Ilat. There they prayed at dawn in the mosque for what was decreed for them. Then they left and they asked one who was present at the mosque among the people of Syria, "What hour do they meet in private with the Commander of the Faithful? We are a small party from the inhabitants of al-'Iraq. We were abused and someone took our belongings, so we want to speak to him if he has time for us." He told them to wait until he mounts his riding animal and then present themselves to him and talk to him until they are finished. They hurried to do that. When Mu 'awiyah came out to the dawn prayer he said, "God is great." And when he did the first prostration, one of them threw himself on the back of the prostrating guard between them until Mu 'awiyah was stabbed in his posterior, while the 'Iraqi had been aiming for his thigh with a dagger. Mu 'awiyah left and he said to the people, "Carry out your prayers." The man was taken prisoner and the doctor was called for Mu 'awiyah. The doctor said, [**p.105**] "If the dagger was not poisoned then it would not do you any harm." He prepared the medicine that would be drunk if it were poisoned. Then he ordered one of those who he knew from his followers to give him a drink, "If he is thirsty, give it to him," [to Mu 'awiyah], while he [the doctor?] licked the dagger. He

licked it, did not find it poisoned, and so praised God and those who were with him. Then Kharijah ibn Hudhafah left (he was one of the Banu 'Addi ibn Ka 'b) from the place of Mu 'awiyah to the people and he said, "It is a great relief that there was no harm to the Commander of the Faithful, thanks to God." He began to remind the people [of how thankful they were]. One of the remaining *Haruris* attacked him thinking he was 'Amr ibn al- 'As, and Kharijah hit him with the sword on the top of his head and killed him. The people threw him by the clothes and they captured him so that the third *Haruri* unsheathed his sword and attacked the people of the mosque. Sa 'id ibn Malik ibn Shihab challenged him, but Sa 'id's sword was made fast to his leg, and his hand fell so he could not reach his sword. Someone turned toward his shoulder and gave him a blow that penetrated to his lungs. Then Sa 'id managed to unsheathe his sword, and he and the *Haruri* exchanged two blows. The *Haruri* hit him in the eyes, eliminating his left eye. Sa 'id hit him, lunging his right hand, but the *Haruri* prevailed over him until he killed him. Sa 'id bled and died quickly and he told whoever entered on him, "Greeting, by God if I wanted, I could have saved myself with the others but I felt embarrassed to run while I had my sword." A man from the Kalb entered and said, "Was this the one who stabbed Mu 'awiyah?" They said, "Yes," and he pulled out the sword and cut off his head, [the Haruri's]. The Kalbi was taken and jailed and he was told that he was under suspicion himself. He said, "But I killed him in anger for God." When he was questioned about it, he was found innocent and was released. The killer of Kharijah was given to his relatives from the Banu 'Addi ibn K 'ab. They cut his hands and his legs then carried him until they brought him to al- 'Iraq where he lived like this for a while. Then he married a woman and she bore a son for him. When they heard that a son had been born to him, they said, "Indeed we were weak when we let the killer

of Kharijah have sons." They spoke to Mu 'awiyah and he permitted them to kill him, so they killed him. The *Haruri* that killed Kharijah said, "By God I did not want anyone except 'Amr ibn al- 'As." When that reached 'Amr, he said, "However, [**p.106**] God wanted Kharijah." And when Kharijah was killed, 'Amr ibn al- 'As put al-Sa`ib ibn Hisham ibn 'Amr, one of the Banu Malik ibn Hisl, and Hisham ibn 'Amr [father of Sa`ib], as the head of the police. The Banu Hisl were the ones who had risen opposed to the treaty that the Quraysh had written against the Banu Hashim that forbid anyone to give daughters in marriage to the Banu Hisham. The treaty also asked the people not to buy anything from the Banu Hisham and that they not marry them until they hand the Messenger of God over to them. And about him Hassan ibn Thabit says:

Are the Banu Umayyah faithful to their promises as Hashim fulfilled his promises, he is from a people who do not betray their neighbor. To al-Harith ibn Hubayb ibn Sukham, and when the Banu Hisl protects the covenant they will be faithful and live with their neighbor in peace.

Ibn Hisham said that Sukham and someone else who had knowledge of poetry differed with Ibn Hisham and said that it is Siham.[226]

And Kharijah ibn Hudhafah al-Qurayshi of the Banu 'Addi ibn Ka 'b had built a room, which was higher than other dwellings, in the time of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. His neighbors complained to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, so he wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As that he pitch a bed on the side of that room, then set a man of average build on it. If it is too high, block it up [the window]. And Yazid was asked, "Who told you this *hadith*," and he said, "The old men of the army."

He said that 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Udays al-Balawi delineated the White House, but it is said that the White House was an open area between the mosque and the House of

'Amr ibn al- 'As where the horses of the Muslims were kept at the gate of the mosque until Marwan ibn al-Hakam arrived in Egypt in the year sixty-five. He used that open area to build a house for himself. He said that it was not appropriate for the caliph to be in a country and not have a house there, so it was built for him in two months. Ibn 'Udays was one of those who pledged allegiance under the tree.[227] And on his authority the inhabitants of Egypt have one *hadith* from the Prophet [**p.107**].

They do not have another one from the Prophet on his authority. The one they do have is the *hadith* of Ibn Lahi 'ah.... to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Udays, who said that he heard the Messenger of God saying, "The people were going astray from the religion as the arrow strays from the archer.[228] God will kill them in the mountains of Lebanon and al-Jalil" or "in al-Jalil and the mountains of Lebanon."

And 'Abd Allah ibn 'Udays, brother of 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Udays, delineated the house of al-Ma 'afari at the dome.

The house of the Banu Jumah was a pond where water gathered, and 'Amr ibn al-'As said, "Map out a place for my cousin next to me," meaning Wahb ibn 'Umayr al-Jumahi. He was among those who had witnessed the conquest. He filled it up with earth and mapped it out for him. But it is said he was 'Umayr ibn Wahb ibn 'Umayr. But it is said that it was a grant from Mu 'awiyah when 'Umayr had arrived in Egypt in the days of Mu 'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan. He wrote that a house be built for him where there was an empty space in which no one had a house. The space where the house was eventually built had been overlooked before because of the water, and this is one of the things people used to justify that what was around the mosque was the space for the stop for the horses of the Muslims, as 'Amr ibn al- 'As did when someone from the Banu Sahm, who did not witness the conquest, had come to him. He built the House of

the Chain that was to the west of the mosque for them. Yahya ibn Bukayr related to us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd who said. "Wahb ibn 'Umayr was the commander of the people of Egypt in the raid of 'Amurriyah in the year twenty-three. And Abu al-A 'war al-Sulami was the commander of the people of Syria."

Ibn al-Huwayrath al-Sahmi delineated next to a house that Jumah built and south of the House of Zakariya` ibn al-Jahm al- 'Abdari. The Thaqif delineated at the east corner of the mosque up to the area of the Saddlers. The House of Abu 'Arabah was [**p.108**] the property of Hanbib ibn 'Aws al-Thaqafi and was where Yusuf ibn al-Hakam ibn Abi 'Aqil had stopped with his son al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf upon the arrival of Marwan ibn al-Hakam to Egypt. Then the Thaqif had what was adjacent to the House of 'Arabah up to the lane that leads you out to the House of Faraj.

And Zakariya` ibn al-Jahm al- 'Abdari delineated his house that was in the Alley of the Lamps, and it is the House (which possesses an arch) of 'Abbas ibn Shurahbil today.

'Abd al-Rahman and Rabi 'ah, sons of Shurahbil ibn Hasanah, delineated houses of 'Abbas ibn Shurahbil that were beside it and the House of Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Tahawi. Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr related to us Ibn Lahi 'ah related to us saying that Rabi 'ah ibn Shurahbil ibn Hasanah was at al-Maks.[229] He said Abu Dharr al-Ghifari delineated the house of al- 'Umad, which possessed the bath that Barakah ibn Mansuri al-Katib used as its well. Its door was on the Alley of the Lamps and its other door was near the House of Barakah. From there, if you return to the Market of the Berber to the Palace of Ibn Jabr in front of you is the property of the Ghifar, and Ibn Jabr had been the protector of the Ghifar. This Ibn Jabr was the messenger of al-Muqawqas to the Messenger of God with Marya and her sister and with what he brought with them. The

Copts claim that a man among them had become a companion of the Messenger of God, meaning Ibn Jabr. The Messenger of God entrusted Egypt to Abu Dharr. My father 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam.... to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shumasah al-Mahri, who said, "I heard Abu Dharr, saying, 'The Messenger of God said that you shall conquer land in which the people use the measurement of *qirat*, and make its people your concern, because they will have the *dhimmah* and kinship [referring to Marya].[230] If you see two brothers fighting over a piece of land, leave them alone.'" And he passed by 'Abd al-Rahman and Rabi 'ah, sons of Shurahbil ibn Hasanah, who were contending with each other over a piece of land. Ibn Wahb said, "I heard al-Layth saying, 'I do not think the Prophet said that to him except that which concerned the people of Egypt in 'Uthman's time.'"

'Iyyas ibn Abd Allah al-Qari delineated west of the house that the people of Shurahbil ibn Hasanah built. And Ruwayfah ibn Thabit and 'Uqbah ibn Qarim, the *Ansari*s with Rabi 'ah, and 'Abd al-Rahman, son of Shurahbil ibn Hasanah, delineated there also [**p.109**].

Ruwayfah ibn Thabit al-Ansari also delineated the house that became the property of the Banu al-Simmah, but Ruwayfah died in Barqah while he was governor there. Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr related to us on the authority of al-Layth, who said that Ruwayfah ibn Thabit governed Antabulus in the year forty-three. Abu Fatimah al-'Azdi delineated the house of al-Dawsi and the house that the companions of al-Hama'il are in today. And they have one *hadith* on his authority on the authority of the Prophet, and it is from Ibn Lahi 'ah.... to Abu Fatimah, who said that while he was at Dhu al-Sawar he said, "The Messenger of God said to me, 'Oh Abu Fatimah do more prostration.[231] The Muslim who does not prostrate to God once, God does not raise him

a degree[232].'" Abu al-Aswad and Sa 'id ibn Abi Maryam related this *hadith* to us on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah, and another *hadith* on the authority of the inhabitants of Egypt was related from Ibn Lahi 'ah.

He said that the house that 'Amr ibn Khalid lived in was the property belonging to a man from the Banu Tamim. And the owners of al-Suwayq, which is also the property belonging to a man from the Banu Tamim, are those who witnessed the conquest. Then 'Amr ibn Suhayl bought that property after him.

'Abd Allah ibn Sa 'id ibn Abi Sarh delineated his house adjoining the fortress of the Byzantines, which is called the House of al-Haniyah, and the house that is called the House of the Bananas, which is not his big castle, but is known as the Castle of the Jinn. It is not a *khittah*, rather he built it after that in the caliphate of 'Uthman ibn 'Affan, who ordered its building when he left for the Maghrib to raid Africa.[233] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us Ibn Lahi 'ah heard Yazid ibn Abi Habib mentioning that al-Miqdad raided Africa with 'Abd Allah ibn Sa 'd and when they returned, 'Abd Allah said to al-Miqdad concerning the house he had built, "How do you find the construction of this house?" Al-Miqdad said to him, "It was from the wealth of God and you have been extravagant. If it is from your wealth, you were corrupt." 'Abd Allah ibn Sa 'd said, "If it were not that some one would say I corrupted twice, I would demolish it." And 'Abd Allah was known by the *kunyah* of Abu Yahya. They had one *hadith* about the Prophet on his authority and they did not have another one from him about the Prophet. The one they have is the *hadith* of Ibn Lahi 'ah.... to [**p.110**] 'Abd Allah ibn Sa 'd ibn Abi Sarh who said that while the Messenger of God and ten of his companions, among who was Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, al-Zubayr and others, were at the mountain, the mountain moved with them.[234] The Messenger of God said,

"Be still Hira, [the mountain in Makkah] there is nothing on you except a prophet, a truthful man or a martyr so [there is no reason for you to move]." And they had on his authority, stories about himself which were not related except by the people of Egypt.

Ka 'b ibn Dinnah, who is called Ka 'b ibn Yasar ibn Dinnah al- 'Absi, delineated the house that was at the end of the Alley of Lamps and extended up to what was near the Market of the Berber. His house was known as the House of the Date Palm. Ka 'b is the son of Bint Khalid ibn Sinan al- 'Absi, or the son of his sister. 'Abd al-Rahman said, "I doubt that." And Khalid ibn Sinan delineated. He was the one who the Qays claimed had acted as a prophet in the interval of time between the Prophet and 'Isa, may God grant them peace. Khalid ibn Sinan had a *hadith* which is lengthy. Al-Muqri 'Abd Allah ibn Yazid.... to 'Ammar ibn Sa 'd al-Tujibi told them that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As ordering him to give Ka 'b ibn Dinnah the judiciary.[235] 'Amr sent for him and read him the letter of the Commander of the Faithful. Ka 'b said, "No, by God, God will not rescue him from the *Jahiliyah* and what is in it of destruction."[236] He was a judge in the *Jahiliyah*. God rescued him from it and, when he refused to accept the judiciary, 'Amr let him go. Ibn 'Ufayr said, "Ka 'b ibn Dinnah was a judge in the *Jahiliyah*." And the house that is known as the House of al-Zir belonged to Qays, while today it belongs to the Banu Wardan.[237] It is said that it was in the Alley of the Lamps, the alley that used to be called the Alley of the Nobles because 'Amr was at the end near the congregational mosque and Ka 'b ibn Dinnah was at its other end near the Market of the Berber, while between that was the house of 'Iyad ibn Juraybah al-Kalbi. 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwan gave him that house and the House of Ibn Mudhaylifah al-Kalbi, the House of Ibn Firas al-Kanani and the House of Nafi' ibn 'Abd al-Qays al-Fihri. But it is also said he is 'Uqbah ibn Nafi' [**p. 111**].

The house of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kanani and the house of Abu Dharr al-Ghifari and the houses of Rabi 'ah and 'Abd al-Rahman, sons of Shurahbil ibn Hasanah are houses of which Bakr ibn Mudar took possession. And the House of Zakariya` ibn al-Jahm al-'Abdari and the house of 'Ayyas ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qari and the house of Abu Hakim, *mawla* to 'Utbah ibn Abi Sufyan, which Mu 'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan built for him [these are some of the properties and their owners].

Ibn 'Abadah delineated his house that was at the Saddle Makers where the Aqabin are there today, and it came to belong to the Banu Miskin.[238] The House of Nasr belonged to a man from the Quraysh, but he died and 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan bought it and gave it to al-Asbagh.

The House of Sahl in which the saddlers are and the Bath of Sahl belonged to 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr ibn al- 'As who bought it and gave it to his daughter, Umm 'Abd Allah ibnat 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr. 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan married her and caused her to bear Sahl and Suhayl and they inherited it from their mother. The castle that is called the Castle of Marya was the property of Ibn Rifa 'ah al-Fahmi, who gave it to 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwan who built it for the Byzantine mother of his son. She is called Marya, and it was attributed to her. It was said that he substituted that place for his place in al-Hamra`. And it is said rather that 'Isa ibn Yazid al-Jaludi tore down their property upon his entrance to Egypt with 'Abd Allah ibn Tahir and built a jail, the jail that was at the place of Mahras Bunanah at the house of 'Amr ibn Sawwad al-Sarhi. Bunanah was nursemaid or wet nurse to one of the Banu Marwan, and the property was attributed to her. Marya, mother of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz, did not have any progeny. Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr.... to Ibn Hubayrah Khalid ibn Thabit al-Fahm said that 'Amr ibn al- 'As had summoned the grandfather of the Banu Rifa 'ah in order to put him in charge of the

maks[239]. He asked him to be released from this duty and 'Amr said, "Why do you dislike it?" He said, "Ka 'b has said do not go near the *maks*; its owner is in the fire."

Jahm ibn al-Salt al-Muttalabi delineated the house that was across from the Bath of Busr near the Owners of the Oil.

Ibn Mulham delineated the house whose facade was in stone in Rayah at the Owners of the Oil.[240] And 'Ayyas ibn al-Bukayr and his son, Tamim ibn 'Ayyas, delineated the house that was at the House of Ibn Abrahah, the house in which the Owners of the Pegs were. This house opened on to the market, while [the property of] 'Ayyas ibn al-Bukayr ibn 'Abd Yalil ibn Nashib ibn Ghiyarah ibn Sa 'd ibn Layth ibn Bakr ibn 'Abd Munah ibn Kinanah was in an Alley of the Banu 'Addi ibn Ka 'b [**p. 112**].

Mujahid ibn Jabr, *mawla* to Bint Ghazwan, delineated his house that was at the coppersmiths that came to belong to the owner of the market. And Abu Shamir ibn Abrahah delineated next to the house of Shuyaym al-Laythi.

Ibn Wa 'lah delineated next to him and they and those who were with them owned up to the Market of the Bath and the houses that belonged to the Banu Marwan. Humayd ibn Hisham al-Himyari told me that Ibn Abrahah did not have property at al-Fustat, Egypt, rather their property was at al-Gizah. But the houses that they had at al-Fustat became inheritance, which they inherited from a Wa 'lah woman, because they were related by marriage to Ibn Wa 'lah so the houses came to belong to them through inheritance. There were four sons of Abrahah: Kurayb ibn Abrahah Abu Rishdayn, Abu Shamir ibn Abrahah, Ma 'di Karib ibn Abrahah and Yaksum ibn Abrahah. Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr said that Ibn Lahi 'ah related to us saying, "Kurayb ibn Abrahah and his brother, Abu Shamir ibn Abrahah, emigrated in the caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab." Harun ibn 'Abd Allah al-Zuhri.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that 'Abd

al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan asked Kurayb ibn Abrahah ibn al-Sabbah about the speech of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab at the basin of such and such.[241] Ibn Marwan said, "Did you witness it?" And Kurayb said, "I witnessed it while I was a boy wearing a small garment. I heard it, but did not remember it. I will direct you to whoever heard it while he was a man." Ibn Marwan said, "Who?" Kurayb said, "Safyan ibn Wahb al-Khawlani." And he sent for him and asked him about it, and he replied, "Did you witness 'Umar at the basin?" Al-Khawlani said, "Yes." Then he mentioned the *hadith*. Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr.... to Ya 'qub ibn 'Abd Allah ibn al- 'Ashajj, who said, "I arrived in Egypt in the days of 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan and I saw Kurayb ibn Abrahah (under whose command were five hundred men from Himyar) leave from the place of 'Abd al- 'Aziz.[242]

Ka 'b ibn 'Addi al-Abadi delineated at al-Qaysariyah and when 'Abd al- 'Aziz wanted to build, he bought it from them and delineated their house for them that was near the property of the Banu Wa'il.

And the bath that is known today as the Bath of Abu Murrah was the property belonging to a man of the Tanukh, who was the grandfather or father of Ibn 'Alqamah [**p.113**].

And 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan asked him for the property and he gave it to him and built him a bath belonging to Zabban ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz so it was named after Zabban. In his verses, the poet says this about it:

Whoever has in his soul a place for white, let him have that white in the Bath of Zamman.

It has no breath, no eyelashes, however, it is an idol in the creation of man[243].

And at the bath was an idol of marble made in the character of a woman, which was a great wonder until it was broken when Yazid ibn 'Abd al-Malik ordered the destruction

of idols in the year 102. 'Abd al- 'Aziz planted his date palms which are at al-Gizah today, and which are known as the Gardens of Ka 'b, as a compensation for the idols.

Al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam delineated his house that is at the Market of Wardan today and the property belonging to the Bala. In that property was the stairway which al-Zubayr had erected and with which he ascended the fortress. 'Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr stayed there when he arrived in Egypt, according to what one of the old men had mentioned. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan had chosen it and Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik returned it to them. Then Yazid ibn al-Walid took it from them and they did not gain it back until the governorship of the Commander of the Faithful, Abu Ja 'far, when Hisham ibn 'Arwah spoke to him about it. Hisham had a district from Abu Ja 'far and he ordered its return to them saying, "There is no one like Abu 'Abd Allah al-Zubayr that something can be taken from him."[244] 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam delineated at al-Fustat.[245]

Abu Basrah al-Ghifari delineated at the house of al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam. 'Amr ibn al- 'As settled the castle, which he did not subdivide but made it *waqf*. And the people of Egypt have *hadith*s on the authority of Abu Basrah on the authority of the Prophet. Among them is what al-Layth ibn Sa 'd related to us on the authority of Khalid ibn Yazid on the authority of Yazid ibn Abi Habib on the authority of Abu al-Khayr on the authority of Abu Basrah. The Messenger of God said, "We will ride to the Jews tomorrow, if they greet you, greet them." And among them is the *hadith* of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd.... to Abu Basrah al-Ghifari, who said that the Messenger of God made the late afternoon prayer one day at al-Mukhammas.[246] **[p. 114]** Then he left and he said, "This prayer is over your predecessors but they have slackened and they have forgotten it. Whoever among you prays [it], it is written that God will reward it two

fold." And there is no prayer after that until evening. 'Abd Allah ibn Salih related it to us, and Idris ibn Yahya al-Khawlani related it to us on the authority of Ibn 'Ayyash al-Qitbani on the authority of Ibn Hubayrah. And also among them is the *hadith* of al-Layth.... to 'Ubayd ibn Jabr who said that he was traveling with Abu Basrah al-Ghifari at *Ramadan*.[247] When they set off from al-Fustat, he called for food and while they were looking at al-Fustat, he said to him, "We will eat and if we want to look at al-Fustat, we will look." And he said, "Do we disobey the *sunnah* of the Messenger of God and his companions," so we broke the fast. And among them is the *hadith* of Ibn Lahi 'ah.... to Abu Basrah, who said that the Messenger of God said, "The non-believer eats with seven stomachs and the believer eats with one stomach."[248] Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr related it to us.

He said that the Aslam delineated what was near the House of Abu Dharr and of his property of the House of al-Sabbah and the alley in which the House of Ibn Buladah was situated; the east of this property belonged to the Aslam. The Aslam also had from the Castle of Ibn Jabr to the Cuppers, who were at the Market of the Berber.[249] And one of the old men of the people of Egypt claimed that Khuza 'ah had two houses, the house that was ascribed to Ibn Nayzak, which belonged to a man who was called al-Harith ibn so and so and so and so ibn al-Harith, and the house that was next to it followed by the judges' place.

The Laythiyun, who were with 'Amr ibn al- 'As, were the family of 'Urwah ibn Shiyaym and they were at the Paper Sellers, and Busr ibn Abi Artah delineated in back of them.

The Banu Mu 'adh from the Mudhlij had two houses, one of which was in the Alley of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah which belonged to al-Ashhab, the jurist.[250] The other

house was in the narrow slope of the Market of the Berber in the alley in which the House of Musab al-Zuhri is situated [**p.115**].

The Anzah of Rabi 'ah had approximately ten houses and a mosque together originally at the center of al- 'Aqabah that was at the house of Ibn Samat.

And the Bala delineated behind Kharijah ibn Hudhafah. then they extended their property from the House of 'Amr ibn Yazid to the House of Salmah and the House of Wadih until they reached the House of Mujahid ibn Jabr up to the Road of al-Zajaj. Then they continued their property until they began at the Owners of the Oil. Then they began south of the Market of Wardan until they reached the Mosque of al-Qurun. Then they went inside the alley to the Mosque of the Banu 'Awf of the Bala. This was the mosque that was in the alley and the House of Ibn Yabuluh that was at the Market of Wardan that extended from the property of the Bala Jiza' to the Ma 'asir. But the Bala used to stand at the right of the banner of 'Amr ibn al- 'As because the mother of al- 'As ibn Wa'il was a Bali. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hisham.... to Muhammad ibn Ishaq said that Umm al- 'As ibn Wa'il was a woman from the Bala.[251] But the Bala increased in Egypt. as al- 'Abbas ibn Talib related.... to Abu 'Uthman al-Nahdi. who said that a man from the Bala was in Syria and he called out to all of the Quda 'ah of Syria to help him.[252] And that reached 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and he wrote to the regent of Syria: "Send up a third of the Quda 'ah to Egypt." and they looked and the Bala were a third of the Quda 'ah. so they were dispatched to Egypt.

He said then the Banu Bahr delineated near the Bala and they were a clan of the al-Azd from the Lakhm. Then they delineated up to the Bahr. Then the al-Hamra' delineated after them. and I will mention their *hadith* in its place. God willing. Then Ta'ifah. a band of the Salaman. delineated up to Bahr. then Ta'ifah of Fahm and the

Kananah of Fahm then al-Hamra` also delineated behind them [in time] to al-Qantara. The first of the tribes of the people of the banner were the Bala since those who follow the Bala were Ibn 'Amr and the banner of the Quraysh was called the banner of 'Amr ibn al- 'As. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us that Ibn Lahi 'ah related to us saying that the banner of the Quraysh was the banner of 'Amr ibn al- 'As.[253] Rather, it was the banner of people not belonging to a tribe of the Arabs, but who had witnessed the conquest with 'Amr ibn al- 'As. Of those who were not in great numbers, they stayed with their people under their banner. They disliked that they stayed under the banner of others [**p. 116**].

And 'Amr said to them, "I will make the banner which I will not attribute to anyone more than the banner under which you stand," and they were satisfied with that. Everyone who did not belong to a numerous tribe stood under it, and it was said the banner was for the sake of that, only God knows. The al-Hijr of the al- Azd delineated up to the Mosque of al- 'Aytham until you reach the Alley of al-Sami, then the Yartha then the Shuja 'ah then the Tharad then the Huthayl followed and the Fahm met them. Then the Huthayl cut between them and between Salaman until the Huthayl stopped at the small Market of 'Adwan, which was the small market that was in the Alley of the Makkan. And the House of Sabrah and the alley in which Ibn al-Aghlab resided was the small market that belonged to the Huthayl. The Alley of the Scribes of Isma`il at the House of Bunanah belonged to the Fahm. And the Mosque of al- 'Aytham al-Hakam ibn Abi Bakr ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan was built. It extends from the stable, that belonged to the al- Azd and al-Hakam bought it from them and built it. He paid the person who read the Qur`an, that was called the Qur`an of Asma`, which they had placed in the mosque. Every month three *dinar*s were paid for those who read it and

when their [the people of the area] wealth was taken, it became the wealth of God [for the treasury]. The stable was taken and the books of the Qur`an were described to the Commander of the Faithful, Abu al- 'Abbas. It was written that they install their copy of the Qur`an in their mosque and pay three *dinars* from the wealth of God every month to whoever read it. And the reason for the copy of the Qur`an was as Yahya ibn Bukayr and others related to us, some more than others added to the *hadith*, that al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf wrote copies of the Qur`an and sent them to the big cities. He sent a copy to Egypt and 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan was angry at that and asked why only one copy was sent to an army that he was in. He ordered one be sent to him specifically, and the Qur`an that is in the congregational mosque today was given to him. When he was finished, he said whoever found a wrong letter in the Qur`an would receive a ewe and thirty *dinars*. The readers took turns and a man from the people of al-Hamra` came and looked in it, then he came to 'Abd al- 'Aziz and he said, "I have found a wrong letter in the copy of the Qur`an." 'Abd al- 'Aziz said, "My copy?" The man said, "Yes." And they looked and there was written: "Indeed this is my brother, he has ninety-nine female sheep (*surah* 38:22) [**p.117**].

But is was written Naja 'ah [the search for food], the *jim* came before the *'ayn* [it should be na` jah, ewe]. He ordered the copy of the Qur`an be corrected, then he gave him thirty *dinars* and a ewe. Then 'Abd al- 'Aziz died and Abu Bakr ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz bought the Qur`an in his inheritance for one thousand *dinars*. Abu Bakr died and it was sold in his inheritance and Asma`, daughter of Abu Bakr ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz, bought it for seven hundred *dinars*. She made it available to the people and she made it famous, so it was attributed to her. Then Asma` died and al-Hakam ibn Abi Bakr bought it and put it in the mosque and whoever read it, received three *dinars* every

month from the rent of the stable. Al-Hakam ibn Abi Bakr was the one who built the mosque known today at the dome of the Market of Wardan.

He said then the 'Adwan delineated until they stopped at the market, where the Salaman met them. The House of Ibn Abu al-Kanud, beginning at the small Market of 'Adwan and the Alley of the Makkan is the property of Daris and a group of people from Yarfa. Then the Salaman continued their property, beginning at the sea and going to Jinan Huwah. Then, the Kananah of the Fahm blocked their way from the Alley of Ibn Rifa 'ah until they came to the sea. The Salaman were met at the side of Jinan Huwah by the Banu Yashkur from the Lakhm. The foot of the western mountain belonged to Yashkur ibn Jazilah from the Lakhm. And there was also the property of 'Ulayyah ibn Rabah al-Lakhmi at the al-Hamra` at [the property of] Jinan Huwah on your left as you head for the bridge.

He said, and when they entered, the Mahrah delineated first at the House of the Horses [possibly a stable] and what follows immediately at the foot of the mountain that was called the Mountain of Yashkur, and from what was near the trench to the east of the army up to the Gardens of the Banu Miskin today. And there was only a black dome on the Mosque of Mahrah until Tarif, the servant of the House of the Horses, entered and expanded it when he built the House of the Horses. The Gardens of the Banu Miskin today are the property of a man from the Mahrah who is called al-Jarrah, but he died without any heirs. Shurayh ibn Maymun al-Mahri arrived and inherited it and married his wife, and he was appointed to maritime government. Nobody knows how much honor he received in his time as a scribe, but Tawbah ibn Namir al-Hadrami [**p.118**] [also a scribe] was in charge of justice. Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr related to us on the authority of al-Layth, who said that ships arrived in Africa

in the year ninety-eight, and Ibn Abi Burdah was in command of them. The people of Egypt raided with them, and were commanded by Shurayh ibn Maymun, so they [the first ships] passed the winter there. 'Umar ibn Hubayr and Abu 'Ubaydah commanded the people of the city at al-Buntus. The houses of Mahrah were south of the banner at what was near the houses of Ibn Sa 'd ibn Abi Sarh, a possession they gained when they came and tied their horses together. 'Amr ibn al- 'As transferred them and they were joined to his forces and settled their houses there. The Mahrah continued their property until they met the Ghafiq at the market, and they met the al-Sadif and the Ghanth in the west.

And the Lakhm delineated. They delineated south of the Thaqif near the Saddlers. Also, the house that had belonged to 'Ayyas ibn 'Uqbah came to belong to them. The House of al-Zalabiya` was also theirs. They continued their property to the hillside of the Mahrah to the Alley of Abu Hakim, while with them was a small group from the Jutham. Then they descended into the Alley of Wardan, *mawla* of Ibn Abi Sarh. And there was the property of Abu Ruqayyah al-Lakhmi and his residence there, which was detached opposite the mosque that was at the houses of the Banu Wardan. Then they descended at your right heading toward the congregational mosque in the alley to the houses of al-Wardanin. From the Mosque of 'Abd Allah, this belongs to the Lakhm, and what was on your left belongs to the Ghafiq. The Lakhm obtained their property up to the houses of Matar that were at the Market of the Berber, and the al-Azd met them at the houses of Abu Maryam where their property has remained. And that continued to the property of the Hijr Waha` [two tribes]. A mosque of Waha` that was at the house of Ishaq ibn Mutawakkil had a minaret. The mosque that was at the street as you go toward the property of Abu Habib had a *majlis* where the inhabitants sat, and when the

prayer rose they left by the pathways. They had three pathways to the road. They prayed, and then returned to their council. Then they met the Khuthaym and Mazin of the al-Azd near the house of Ibn Fulayh. Then they met the Tanukh near the house of al-Bara' ibn 'Uthman ibn Hunayf [**p. 119**].

Then they met the Ghanth of the al-Azd near the House of Ibn Barmak, in which the agents resided. The alley, the square and what began at the Mosque of 'Abd Allah from the House of Ibn al-Haytham al-'Ayli and what was between them, belonged to the Ghanth of the al-Azd. From the House of Ashhab, and when you follow the Alley of Ashhab and what is at your right while you head for the way station, belonged to the al-Azd until you reached the way station. And the way station belonged to Bint Maslamah ibn Mukhallad, but she granted it to the Muslims. The house of Abu Qudamah was also part of what she granted. The house of Ibrahim ibn Salih is the house of the Banu 'Abd al-Jabbar of the Ghafiq. Then the al-Azd continued their property until they obtained what began in the small market opposite the House of Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr and the Alley of al-Ruwasin until they reached the House of Huwa and the House of 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hashim. Then they met near the small market. Then the Utaqa, who were very few, delineated, and the Mosque of 'Utaqa there was famous.[254] They owned the House of Ziyad al-Hajib until they descended to Bitar Bilal [place name] and to the market. And Zubayd ibn al-Harith al-Hajri Himyar was counted as an 'Utaqa and became their leader. Sa 'id ibn al-Jahm said to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Qasim, "You are one of us," and he was annoyed, therefore meaning that Zubayd ibn al-Harith was from the Hajr and that he was a leader to them. 'Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Qasim was entrusted with the 'Utaqa. If you came from the small market toward the congregational mosque, what was at your right belonged to the al-Azd; the property at

your left, near the property of Abu Habib belonged to them also. Then the Shuja 'ah met them at the [roofed] Passage of the Ghazal and the Fahm met them at the place of Isma'il and the Banu Shababah al-Azd met them at the House of Huwa and what was near the great line. When you arrive at the road of the House of Huwa and leave it and go towards the army, all that belonged to the Fahm until they reached the army. That property was the property of the Banu Shababah from the Fahm. The Banu Shababah owned the mosque that has the minaret that leads you to the Mosque of Turki. They also had the mosque which was in Susa. Then, when you descend from the Pass of Huwa al-Bahri, you are located among the property of the Huthayl. What was on your right as you went toward the trench belonged to the Huthayl. What was on your left, [**p.120**] belonged to Dihna of the al-Azd until you got to Yashkur from the Lakhm at the Mountain of Yashkur.

Then the Ghafiq delineated between the Mahrah and the Lakhm. They continued their property until they appeared at the desert near the station where they met the Lakhm and the Ghanth to the north, and the al-Sadaf and the Mahrah to the south. They delineated and expanded their property because of their great numbers. Ibn Lahi 'ah related to us on the authority of Yazid ibn Abi Habib that the Ghafiq were a third of the people upon the entrance of 'Amr ibn al- 'As to Egypt. The Ghafiq owned from the Pass of the Saddlers to the houses of the Banu Wardan. What was on your right belonged to the Ghafiq until you ended at the Mosque of the Fahm al-Jimarati [name of tribe]. Then their property continued to Safa to the two mosques of Hudhran (and Hudhran was from the Ghafiq) and to the Mosque of Ahdub and to the Mosque of al-Zimam, where Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr, the trustworthy, was buried, as they claim. Then you return to the Bath of Sahl, and what was on your left while you were going

toward the Mahrah all belonged to the Ghafiq. Then there was the Alley of Hamd of the Ghafiq that was opposite the Bath of Sahl that was for women, and in it was the Mosque of Abu Musa al-Ghafiqi.[255] There is no other mosque in the alley other than this one. Abu Musa had the companionship of the Messenger of God, and his full name was Abu Musa 'Abd Allah ibn Malik. They have two *hadiths* on the authority of the Messenger of God on his authority. Muhammad ibn Yahya al-Sadafi.... to Abu Musa al-Ghafiqi said that the Messenger of God said, "Whoever fabricates a lie about me, let them be lodged in a house (or seat) of fire."[256] Asad ibn Musa and Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr.... to 'Abd Allah ibn Malik who said that he heard the Messenger of God saying, "If I have performed the ablutions and I am in a state of major ritual impurity, I eat and drink but I do not pray and do not recite until I wash."[257] When you go beyond the Alley of the Bananas to the Mosque of Sayban, this was the mosque which had the dome that was at the House of Khalid ibn 'Abd al-Salam al-Sadafi (and Sayban was from the Mahrah). What was at your left when you went toward the Awning of Jawad belonged to the Ghafiq. What was at your right, [**p.121**] belonged to al-Sadaf up to the Mosque of Ahdub to what was above that to the path that takes you out to the desert except the house of Ibn Sabur, which was the property of a man from Himyar and came to belong to Isma 'il ibn Asbat. The Rubbaniyun, also of the Ghafiq, owned from the House of Matar to what was at your right as you went toward the Mosque of 'Abd Allah. 'Abd Allah is the one to whom the mosque is attributed. He is 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, and 'Abd al-Malik made him governor of Egypt after the death of 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwan, and his appointment of the governorship was in *Jumadi* in the year eighty-six, as Yahya ibn Bukayr related to us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd. He was young and some of the people of Egypt called him *Mukayis*, [wiser than his age

shows] as he was the first to change the *diwans* to Arabic whereas before they had been in *'Ajamiyah*. Also, he was the first to prohibit the people from the *burnus*[258]. Then the Ghafiq owned what was at your right and at your left from the House of Ibn Hujalah al-Ghafiqi to the House of Ibn Hujalah. And in the House of Ibn Hujalah al-Ghafiqi, was the absence of Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr when 'Amr ibn al- 'As entered Egypt in the Year of the Dam. And the dam, as Yahya ibn Bukayr related to us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd, was in *Safar* of the year thirty-eight. Al-Ghafiqi had a weak sister. When Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj and those who were with him came in search of the killers of 'Uthman, the sister of al-Ghafiqi said, "Whoever seeks Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr I will direct you to him, but do not kill my brother." She directed them to him. And when he was taken he said, "Remember Abu Bakr."[259] And Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj said, "I killed seventy of my people for 'Uthman, do you expect me to leave you when you were his killer," and so he killed him. And this was the house which was adjoined to the Mosque of al-Zanj. It was a place for making Sindi shoes (outside) and inside were mills. The Ghafiq own from the mosque to the House of Ibrahim ibn Salih to the mosque of Ibrahim al-Qarrat, and that is the [place called] Dihnah of the Ghafiq. And the Ghafiq have more property than what we mentioned, but this is the gist of it.

The al-Sadaf delineated south of the Mahrah and they continued their property until they emerged at the edge of it. They met the Hadramiyun beyond the desert and the Banu Sa 'd from the Tujib and the family of Ayda 'an ibn Sa 'd in the south [**p. 122**].

Then they met the Silhim from the Murad at the side of their property and the Hadramiyun, who were situated between them and the desert. The Banner of al-'Ujdhum with Hayyan or Habban ibn Yusuf existed since the entrance of 'Amr. And when the Sadaf settled, 'Imran ibn Rabi 'ah was put in charge of them and lead them

for a long time. Then his son succeeded him. Their people existed in the country for a long time and they had honor and generosity. and among them was Ibn Sulayk al-Sadafi.

The Hadramiyun and a small branch of the Yahsub delineated houses for them [the Ujdhum] in their place today at the time of 'Uthman ibn 'Affan, except 'Abd Allah ibn al-Mutahalil. And he who entered al-Fustat with 'Amr ibn al- 'As from the Hadramawt was 'Abd Allah ibn Kulayb from al-Ashba`. His property was in the family of Ayda 'an and at the House of Ibn al-Rawwagh and Malik ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ajda' from al-Harith. and his house was the House of Hubayrah ibn Abyad and al-Milamis ibn Jadhimah ibn Sari. His property was at al-Saffa [place] at the House of al-Faraj ibn Ja 'far and Namir ibn Zurah ibn Namir ibn Shaji al-Bassi and al-A 'yan ibn Namir ibn Malik ibn Sari and Abu al- 'Aliyah. *mawla* to them. and he was the grandfather of Abu Qanan. They were with their maternal uncles in the Tujib. then their support came forward in the days of 'Uthman and they delineated east of the Silhim and the Sadaf until they. and some people from the Tujib who wanted to move. reached into the desert. 'Abd Allah ibn Kulayb from al-Ashba` delineated his property with the Banu Ayda 'an at their place and at the House of Ibn al-Rawwagh. His brother. Qays ibn Kulayb. as a handsome young man in the days of Mu 'awiyah. was among the gatekeepers of 'Amr ibn al- 'As. Mu 'awiyah saw him with 'Amr and said. "Who is this boy?" 'Amr said. "One of my gatekeepers." Mu 'awiyah said. "He who keeps him does not need help."[260] Then he became the keeper of 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan after that. And concerning Qays ibn Kulayb. Abu al-Mus 'ab al-Balawi says in his *qasidah* in which he mocked the nobility of the people of Egypt.. [261] **[p.123]**

I continued calling Qays a female, who is asked to do something but does it slowly, in

order to let me in because the breakfast had arrived.

The Qays do not have glorified grandmothers, but they are from the Hadramawt and are short and ugly.

Yazid al-Yarbu 'a diverted gifts from me after the rise of the banner.

He stretched his right palm, but it was like a left hand from which gifts are expected.

I addressed 'A'idh and he sent me away and his arrogance forbids him from returning my greetings.

And Kurayb is evil and weak like an avalanche collapsing from both sides.

And as for al-Qahzam, he is a mule who is suffering from saddle sores and thin shoes.

And therefore al-Qusayr [a really short man] is from Tujib and if he is able, he will even hold his stool.

And it is related he is suffering from saddle sores and castration[282].

He said and Mu 'awiyah, when one of the people of Egypt arrived upon him, asked him if he would recite the poetry of Abu al-Mus 'ab. These are the verses in a poem of his which has Yazid in mind, who is Yazid ibn Shurahbil ibn Hasanah. Qays is Qays ibn Kulayb the gate keeper. 'A'idh ibn Tha 'labah al-Balawi was killed in al-Baralus in the year fifty-three with Wardan, *mawla* to 'Amr ibn al- 'As, and Abu Ruqayyah al-Lakhmi. I will mention their *hadith* in its place, God willing. The Qahzami is 'Amr ibn Qahzam, Kurayb is Kurayb ibn Abrahah and al-Qusayyar from Tujib is Ziyad ibn Hunatah al-Tujibi. Then al-Khalawi is the owner of the Castle of Ibn Hunatah, which is among the property of the Tujib. And al-Malamirs ibn Jadhimah is the head of the Hadramiyun who claim for him the people of al-Ashba' and al-Harith until the time of Mu 'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan. A dispute occurred between Maslamah ibn Mukhallad and al-Malamis, and al-Malamis asked permission of Mu 'awiyah to move to Palestine with the

Hadramiyun. Mu 'awiyah gave him permission and wrote about this for him to Maslamah. Maslamah disliked that plan and a man from the Hadramiyun, who was called so and so ibn Muslim, said to him, "I will go to them and try to dissuade them from leaving." So he did it, and when al-Malamis asked him to fulfill his promise, Maslamah said, "If your people are satisfied then gather them and mention to them what al-Malamis said." A man among them said, "We do not just leave our country." And he said to him, "Who are you?" He said, "I am Ibn Umayyah," he said, "And who are your people?" He said, "The Banu 'Awf." Then they followed the example of his statement and he wrote down their names. Abu al-Aswad al-Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar.... to Ibn Shihab said that [**p.124**] the Messenger of God said, "The Hadramiyun were better than the Banu al-Harith."[263] Abu al-Aswad related to us that Ibn Lahi 'ah related to us on the authority of al-Harith ibn Yazid that Mu 'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan wrote to Maslamah ibn Mukhallad while he was over Egypt: "Do not entrust your work except to an Azdi or a Hadrami, for they were trustworthy people." Abu al-Aswad al-Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar.... to Tubay', who said, "No one of the Hadramiyun will catch up with the impostor."[264]

He said then the Tujib delineated and took the Banu 'Amir [an area] east of the fortress, and south of the House of 'Abd Allah ibn Sa 'd ibn Abi Sarh. Then they continued their property until they met the Mahrah and the Sadaf from the direction of the north. They met the Silhim adjacent to the east and they met Wa 'lan from Murad and a part of the Khawlan from the direction of the south. Then they met the Banu Ghutayf while the tribes from Murad and the Silhim were situated between them and the desert. And the property of Kinanah ibn Bishr ibn Salman al-Ayda 'i was the House of Hubayrah. Then, in time, his mosque came to belong to 'Uthman ibn Yunus Abi al-

Samah, grandfather of Ibn Dihqan [on his mother's side]. And Kinanah had a sword called the adorned [al-Muqallad] which came to belong to Sa 'id ibn 'Ubayd and Sa 'id used to say, "The Tujib have two swords which are the '*Arid* [the extensive] of the Banu Hudayj and al-Muqallad, and al-Muqallad has come to belong to me."

He said and the Khawlan delineated the south eastern portion of the fortress and the direction (where the wind comes) from the south. Then they continued their property until they met the Banu Wa'il and the Farisiyun in the level plain. They met the Tujib and Ru 'ayn at the mountain, and they met the Banu Ghutayb and the Banu Wa 'lan from Murad in the east and the Tujib in the direction (where the wind comes) from the north. The Ghutayf went beyond them and were situated between them and their property. Concerning Ra'im ibn Tha 'labah al-Khawlani from al-Hayawiyah, it used to be said that he was a man from Kinanah whose ancestors were well known, and Ibn Jidhl al-Ti 'an said about him. [**p. 125**]

Who will convey to Khawlan a message from me. It is carried by the sons of Firas ibn Malik.

Indeed our brother, Ra'im al-Khayr [a good doer] is residing among you without a misdeed, but living a life of hardships.

To a king, if we consider his origins, he belongs to Kinanah, a people of honorable deeds.

And a man from the Khawlan answered him and said,

Whoever conveys a message from me to Firas and we belong to the Khawlan ibn' Amr ibn Malik.

To Saba al-Amlak [title for kings of Yaman] in my origins as my grandfather related to me about our immortal glory.

He said and the Madhhij delineated between the Khawlan and the Tujib. And the Wa 'lan delineated what was near the castle. then they and the Banu Ghutayf continued fighting the Khawlan and the Tujib.

Then the Murad continued their property until they met the tribes of Nafi' and Ru 'ayn. and among them were the Banu 'Abs ibn Zawf. They continued their property until they met the Banu Mawhab from al-Ma 'afir and they met the Sulaf and Saba. who were situated between them and the desert. One of the people of the Banu 'Abs ibn Zawf made a mistake about the Banu 'Abs ibn Zawf concerning the alley which was attributed to the Banu 'Abs. He said. "They are called the 'Abs Qays." but it is not as he said. Abu al-Aswad al-Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar.... to 'Utbah ibn Abi Hakim said that the Messenger of God said. "Most of the tribes in the *Jinnah* are Madhhij."[265]

And the tribes ascribed to the Saba delineated. among them the son of Hajaran. And with them were the Sulaf on the eastern side near the Murad. Then they continued their property between al-Ma 'afir and the Hadramiyun until they came to the desert.

The Himyar delineated south of the Khawlan and east of it and east of the Badi 'ah of the Madhhij. The Yahsub were south of the al-Ma 'afir until they reached the mountain.

The Yafi' and the Ru 'ayn delineated east of the Khawlan. then they met the tribes of al-Kala'. and they continued between the tribes of Saba and al-Ma 'afir and between the stable of Qurrah ibn Sharik until they came to the desert.

The al-Ma 'afir delineated. and among them were the al-Ash 'ariyun and the Sakasik east of the Kala'. followed by the Aknu` who were of the Ash 'ariyun. Then came the Banu Mawhab then the Sakasik and then the al-Ma 'afir. and they were intermixed. Then they continued their property until they reached the desert and they fought with

the Himyar and a band of the Khawlan. And the Himyar and the al-Ma 'afir at the mountain approached the tribes of the Mudar, but there was no one else there except these tribes. The Juhinah [**p.126**] had settled on the bank of the Yannah. The al-Ma 'afir had camped beside 'Amr ibn al- 'As, but the mosquitoes bothered them because of the flow of the Nile, and they complained of that to 'Amr. They asked him to move them and he said, "The only people who will do me this favor are my companions." He moved the Quraysh to their place while he moved the al-Ma 'afir to the place that they are still in today. And 'Amr said to his companions, "Seize the opportunity, for I imagine looking at the mosque and what is around contains a lot of people who desire it, and that their position is deserted."[266] And it was as he said. Hani' ibn al-Mutawakkil.... to Shufayy ibn Mata' said that the people, when there was danger, came out with their banners and every one had a position.[267] The place of the al-Ma 'afir was under the hill toward Alexandria. And the Castle of Fahd that was among the property of the al-Ma 'afir and the mosque belonging to Saba was property built by[268] Fahd ibn Kathir ibn Fahd, who was made governor of Barqah in the early days of Usamah ibn Zayd, and earlier was governor of the island of industry. The Castle of Fahd was the one that was at the Mosque of al-Zinah. And the *hadith* concerning the Ash 'ariyun and the Sakasik was related by Abu Jabir Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik.... to Mu 'adh, who said that the day the Prophet sent him to al-Yaman, he was carried on a she-camel.[269] The Prophet said, "Oh Mu 'adh go until the army comes, give the call to prayer where this she-camel lays down, pray and build a mosque there." Mu 'adh went until he reached the army and his she-camel went around it, but refused to kneel. He said, "Is there another army?" They said, "Yes, the army of Rukhamah." And when it came, she went and knelt and Mu 'adh dismounted and summoned the prayer. Then he rose and

prayed and Ibn Yukhamir, the Sakasiki, came out to him and said, "Who are you?" He said, "I am the messenger of the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds." Ibn Yukhamir said, "What do you want?" Mu 'adh said, "I want to fight anyone who opposes the Messenger of God." When Mu 'adh related to him with what he was entrusted by the Messenger of God, Ibn Yukhamir said to him, "Welcome to the one who sent you and welcome to you, extend your hand." He swore allegiance to him and a troop of the Ash 'ariyun and the Umluk of the Radman rushed to him. Ibn Yukhamir said, "The courtyard in which you built the mosque belongs to me." Mu 'adh said, "Take its price" [he'll pay him]. And he said, "No, rather it belongs to God and to the Messenger." So Mu 'adh fought whoever opposed the Messenger of God with the troop from the Ash 'ariyun and the Umluk, Umluk of Radman until they surrendered. He wrote to the Messenger of God: [**p.127**] "I fought with a troop from the Ash 'ariyun and the Sakasik and the Umluk, Umluk of Radman until the people of al-Yaman surrendered." The Messenger of God said, "Oh God, pardon the Sakasik and the Umluk, Umluk of Radman and the troop from the Ash 'ariyun." 'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib, who said that he heard that the Messenger of God say, "Indeed shall I inform you of the best of the tribes?"[270] They said, "Indeed." He said, "The Umluk, Umluk of Radman, divisions of the Ash 'ariyun, portions of the Khawlan, the Sakasik and the Sakun."

He said that the Banu Wa'il delineated in the direction of the north. They continued their property two streets along the Nile until they met the Rashidah from the Lakhm close to the stable, and they were situated between a band of them and between the Yahsub, who were only a few, at the Persian mountain.

Then a band of the Lakhm delineated behind the Banu Wa'il. They entered toward

the Nile then continued disputing the Yahsub while they were in the mountain until they appeared at the land of *al-Harth* [tillable land] and *al-Zar* [arable land] . And there was a great empty space between the tribes from tribe to tribe, but they expanded in the time of 'Uthman ibn 'Affan. After that the people became numerous; each tribe increased their property until they were close to each other.

<u>The Properties of al-Gizah</u>

'Uthman ibn Salih related to us that Ibn Lahi 'ah related to us on the authority of Yazid ibn Abi Habib and Ibn Hubayrah Yazid, one of them said to his companion that the Hamdan and whoever befriends them preferred al-Gizah. And 'Amr ibn al- 'As wrote to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab telling him of what God did for the Muslims and what He conquered for them and what they did in their properties. He also wrote that the Hamdan and their allies preferred to settle in al-Gizah. 'Umar wrote to him praising God for that and saying to him: "How are you satisfied to disperse your companions, you should not have agreed that even one of your companions is separated from you, for you will not know what descends upon them unexpectedly. And perhaps you will not be able to help them until something bad happens to them, so gather them to you. If they refuse you and if they are pleased where they are, then build a fortress for them from acquired lands of the Muslims." And 'Amr suggested that to them [**p.128**].

They refused and were pleased with their position in al-Gizah. Together, with those who followed them, of whom were a group from the Yafi' and others, they were pleased with what was there. 'Amr ibn al- 'As built the fortress for them in the year twenty-one at al-Gizah, and he finished building it in the year twenty-two. Someone other than Ibn Lahi 'ah, on the authority of the old men of the people of Egypt, said that 'Amr ibn al- 'As, when the people of al-Gizah asked to be united with al-Fustat, told them they could

proceed: "We proceeded him in the path of God; it is not for us to depart from it to another." The Yafi' settled al-Gizah. Among them were Mubarrih ibn Shihab, Hamdan and the Dhu Asbah, among whom was Abu Shamir ibn Abrahah and a band from al-Hajr. Among the al-Hajr was al-Qamah ibn Junadah, one of the Banu Malik ibn al-Hajr. And among them was a band who had delineated in al-Fustat at the bottom of the Hillside of Tanukh, but I had explained that in the main part of my book.[271]

He said and the people from the *'Ajam* entered with 'Amr ibn al- 'As and they were called the al-Hamra` and the Farisiyun. And as for the al-Hamra`, they are a people of the Byzantines, among whom are the Banu Yannah, the Banu al-Azraq and the Banu Rubil. The Farisiyun were people from Fars, and among them they claimed the people from Fars who were in San 'a`. Ibn Yannah used to carry their banner and to him was attributed an awning of Ibn Yannah that was in al-Fustat, Egypt at the al-Hamra`. The al-Hamra` and the Farisiyun said that they were Arabs, but the Arabs did not feel safe with them and were afraid of the breech of faith on their part. They said, "What is the problem?" They said, "We will settle on one side and you settle on one side, and if there is a breech of faith from them they will be between us." And one of them said, "If there is a breech of faith from them, they are between the two jaws of the lion." And the Arabs had their promise. The al-Hamra` settled at the al-Qantara. The Farisiyun settled on the side of the Banu Wa'il, and the mosque of the Farisiyun there was famous. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to 'Ulayyah ibn Rabah said that Amr ibn al- 'As arrived with the al-Hamra` and the Farisiyun from Syria." Ibn Lahi 'ah said, "He named them al-Hamra` because they were non-Arabs.[272] **[p. 129]**

<u>The Booty [Spoils] of Alexandria</u>

He said and as for Alexandria there was no *khitat* in it except that Abu al-Aswad al-

Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam delineated in Alexandria.[273] Rather, Alexandria was the booty of whoever made residence there [used empty houses] with their families. When 'Amr ibn al- 'As conquered Alexandria, he and 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit approached until they were high on the hill, on which was the mosque of 'Amr ibn al- 'As. And Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj said, "We will settle here," and 'Amr ibn al- 'As settled the fortress that came to belong to 'Abd Allah ibn Sa 'd ibn Abi Sarh. It is said that 'Amr gave it to him when Sarh governed the land. Abu Dharr al-Ghifari settled that which was west of the place of prayer that was at the Mosque of 'Amr near the sea, but it was torn down later. Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj set up his house that was above this hill. 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit built a building in which he continued to live until he left Alexandria, and it is said that Abu al-Darda' was with him, only God knows.

'Uthman ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib and Ibn Hubayrah, who said that when the country was surrendered to them, 'Amr detached one quarter of his companions for the *Ribat* [public building] of Alexandria, and a quarter on the coasts while half remained with him.[274] And he ordered a quarter to come to Alexandria especially in the summer for the extent of six months, and the winter troops followed after that for six months. Each commander had a fortress in which he stayed with whomever was with him of his companions, and they furnished their own places.

'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that the Muslims lived in their *Ribat*. After raiding expeditions, they would return to dwell in the house in which one of his companions was living.[275] 'Amr said, "I am afraid that the houses will be ruined while you were taking turns." When he was at al-Kiryawm he said to them, "Go with the blessing of God and whoever among you plants his lance in the ground of a

house. it will belong to him and to his descendants. The man entered the house and planted his lance in a house of Alexandria. then the other came and planted his lance in one of the rooms of the house; so one house became a residence for two or three tribes. They lived in these houses and if they left, a Byzantine lived in them until they returned. The repair of the houses was the Byzantines' responsibility.

Yazid ibn Abi Habib used to say there is no unbind from its rent and its sale. [can not sell it] and he can not bequeath it nor inherit from it. but it is for them to reside during their trips[276] [**p.130**].

The Addition to the Congregational Mosque

Then Maslamah ibn Mukhallad al-Ansari increased the congregational mosque after 'Amr built it. Maslamah was the one who ordered the people of Egypt to build the minarets for the mosques in the year fifty-three. The minarets were built and his name was written on them. Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr related to us that Maslamah ibn Mukhallad ordered the people to do that. but because he was related by marriage to the Khawlan. he waived that responsibility from them. Then 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan tore down the mosque in the year seventy-seven and rebuilt it. During his caliphate. al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik wrote to Qurrah ibn Sharik al- 'Absi while he governed the people of Egypt. Qurrah ibn Sharik had become governor in the year ninety. He entered Egypt on Monday on the thirteenth night of the month of the first *Rabi'* when 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Malik was deposed and the poet said about that.

How odd, how surprised I was when it came to us that you had appointed Qurrah ibn Sharik [as governor].

And you removed the fortunate young man from us, [the one before] then you were wrong about it [against] your father[277].

And he tore all of it down and built this building of which he adorned and gilded the capitals of the columns that were on the conference rooms of Qays. And there are no columns or gilded capitals in the mosque except on the conference rooms of Qays. Qurrah moved the *minbar*, when he tore down the mosque, to Qaysariyah al- 'Asal. And the people prayed in it and gathered in it for *jum 'ah* prayers until he finished rebuilding it. The *qubbah* in al-Qaysariyah is still there today. [278] And the dome which was in the middle of the gap between the beams is in the congregational mosque [**p.131**].

After that, Musa ibn 'Isa al-Hashimi increased its rear area in the year 175. Then 'Abd Allah ibn Tahir increased its width on the authority of the letter of al-Ma`mun in the year 213. He expanded it to include the House of Sand except what remained from it by way of the House of al-Darb, including the House of Ibn Rummanah and some of the properties that we mentioned earlier.

Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr related to us that the representatives of al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik wrote to him that the treasuries were overflowing with money, so he ordered them to build mosques. The first mosque that was built in al-Fustat, Egypt was the mosque, which is known as the Mosque of al-Qal 'ah that was at the base of the fortress of the Byzantines at the Gate of al-Rayhan, opposite the place that is known as al-Qalus. Humayd ibn Hisham al-Himyari related to us saying, "There were columns of marble in every mosque in al-Fustat, Egypt, but they were not in the *khittah*."[279]

'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to some of the old men of the people of Egypt said that the first church which was built in al-Fustat, Egypt was the church that was behind the bridge in the days of Maslamah ibn Mukhallad.[280] The army objected to it to Maslamah and said to him, "You have decreed that they build churches." They

continued arguing, until they almost fought over the idea of allowing the Copts to build churches. And on that day, Maslamah convinced them and he said, "They are not in your territory, rather they are outside in their own land." and they were quiet at that. These were the properties of the people of Egypt.

The Grants [Estates, Fiefs]

He said and the Muslims, when they delineated, had left a vast tract of empty land between them, the Nile and the fortress in order to exercise and train their horses. The matter continued like that until Mu 'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan became governor, and he bought the property of Maslamah ibn Mukhallad from him and granted him his house that was at the Market of Wardan. Then he bought the property of 'Uqbah ibn 'Amir and granted him his house that was in the empty lot at the Owners of Straw, and it is today in the hands of the Faraj [**p.132**].

Then he bought the House of Abu Rafi' that came to belong to al-Sa'ib, his *mawla*, and he granted al-Sa'ib the house that was at Hayz al-Wuz. Then 'Abd al- 'Aziz built the House of the Guests which was for guests of 'Abd al- 'Aziz. And Mu 'awiyah also granted a place for Sariyah, *mawla* of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, in the alley that is known as Hayz al-Wuz and his son [*mawla's* son] sold it in parts and granted 'Abd al- 'Aziz Khalid ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Harith ibn Hisham the House of Makhramah that was in the empty lot, while he had the House of Musa ibn 'Isa al-Nushari that was at the station. He said and Khalid and 'Umar were sons of 'Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Harith ibn Hisham with 'Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr, and Abu Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Rahman was like a brother to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, [companion of same age, peer]. When 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan was victorious he said, "There is no way to solve what 'Umar, Khalid and Abu Bakr disagree over, however God has told me that they do not live in the

Hijaz."[281] And he wrote to al-Hajjaj: "Let them choose in whichever country they want to live and let them depart." Khalid followed 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan who granted him the House of Makhramah in the empty lot and kept the house of Musa ibn 'Isa that was at the station. And as for 'Umar, he followed Bishr ibn Marwan to al- 'Iraq where there are many monuments to him in Wasit. 'Umarah ibn al-Walid ibn 'Uqbah ibn Abi Mu 'ayt was granted the houses that were near the Owners of the Straw to the south. Abu Mu 'ayt was named Abanan. Muhammad ibn Idris al-Razi related this to me and Dirar ibn al-Khattab used to say about him.

Oh my eye weeps for' Uqbah ibn Aban, the head of all knights and the head of the Fihr

And one of the poets used to say about him.

Whoever is pleased with lard and meat piled on top of each other, let him go to the huge container of 'Uqbah ibn Aban.[282]

He said and he was 'Abd al-A 'la ibn Abi 'Amrah while he was *mawla* to the Banu Shayban, husband of the sister of Musa ibn Nusayr. He was favored by 'Abd al- 'Aziz and he mapped out his house for him, which had the bath that is called the Bath of Straw. When 'Abd al-A 'la ibn Abi 'Amrah arrived from the place of Alyun, who was a leader of the Byzantines, he said to 'Abd al- 'Aziz, [**p.133**] "You did well in urging the Muslims, in instigating them and advising them." He asked him for four houses of Alexandria which he ordered for him at the great basin of his bath [overlooking the bath]. And with him, 'Abd al- 'Aziz sent cloths to Ibn 'Umar. Abu al-Aswad.... to 'Abd al-A 'la ibn Abi 'Amrah said that 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan sent one thousand *dinar*s with him to Ibn 'Umar and he received them.[283] He said 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan granted his house, which had the bath that Musa ibn 'Isa bought next to the Owners of *al-Qurt*, to 'Umar ibn 'Ulayyah al-Fihri and some one of the Banu Muharib.[284] That was

because, when 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan had killed 'Amr ibn Sa 'id, 'Umar ibn 'Ulayyah was one who fought valiantly with him and was among his companions. He had entered on him in his private property and 'Amr ibn Sa 'id was killed. He took council with them concerning his killing. All of them feared his killing, [thinking he was not dead yet] although they had never met him. 'Umar ibn 'Ulayyah said, "Kill him, may God kill him because he has stirred up trouble his entire life." 'Abd al-Malik said, "Here he is, throw his head to the people and let them go to the treasury so they will leave you alone," and he did it and the people dispersed. And 'Abd al-Malik sent him to the House of 'Amr to search it, and in it he found books in which there were names from his *bay 'ah* which he burned.[285] That reached 'Abd al-Malik and he said to him, "What drove you to do what you did?" He said, "Had you read them you would not have a sound Syrian heart and you would not illicit his obedience if he knew that you had known of his opposition to you." He agreed with him and thanked him and he granted him his house, which had the bath that Musa ibn 'Isa bought next to the Owners of *al-Qurt*. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah said that it was a grant from 'Abd al- 'Aziz al-Fihri and he did not name it. Ibn 'Ufayr named it, and 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah said that 'Abd al- 'Aziz al-Fihri granted it to the *mawla* of Ibn Rummanah when he came to him [**p.134**]. And Yazid ibn Rummanah built it for him, and it was the house that is known today as the House of the Chain. The family of Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Yazid ibn Unays al-Fihri denied that tenure and they were more knowledgeable of that, and they said that the property belonged to Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Fihri. He delineated it in the year of the conquest of Egypt and did not build anything for it except its walls. Then, he left for Syria where he died and became a martyr. Then his sons, al- 'Ala' and 'Ali arrived. Al- 'Ala' was the elder of the two and he had seen the Messenger of God. They arrived

in Egypt and began building something like the great courtyard, but they did not build anything except one house in which a *mawla*, belonging to them and called Yuhannas, lived. Then al- 'Ala' left for al-Madinah and he was killed in the year of *al-Harrah* and he left al-Harith ibn al- 'Ala' as successor. 'Ali left for Syria where he died, and he left 'Umar ibn 'Ali as successor. 'Umar ibn 'Ali obtained a position with 'Abd al-Malik and he was dispatched to Ibn Rummanah, so he sent money to him and asked him to build the house of his grandfather to strengthen what was decreed for him, and to make a bath for him there. He made an opening for him in the house so that he could enter if he wished. He said, "That is a memory for you and for your grandfather." Ibn Rummanah carried out those instructions and built it and made its walls more than two cubits by one cubit of the building, and he encircled it with columns of marble and he made its round courtyard, but did not add a second story. Then 'Umar ibn 'Ali arrived in Egypt and Ibn Rummanah had finished it. 'Umar said to him, "You have done well except that you did not make a mosque for it." So he built the mosque that is known today as the Mosque of al-Qurun. He built it like a great shop [means it was large] and he separated it from the house and made an opening between it and the house. He used to sit there often. Then after him, Abu 'Awn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Yazid added to it. Then al-Muttalib ibn 'Abd Allah al-Khaza 'i increased it, but it caught fire, and al-Sari ibn al-Hakim built it as this building today. 'Umar ibn 'Ali died and al-Harith ibn al- 'Ala' inherited everything since he was his cousin and he stipulated that the house be given to the most noble (in descent) living person of the men of the family of al-Harith ibn al- 'Ala', excluding women, as long as they reproduce.[286] And priority was to go to the highest over the lowest group of people [hierarchy of inheritance]. When [or if] the men died out and it went to the women, it would go according to her

lineage with al-Harith. When [or if] the women died off, its bath and its hill, known as Abu Qashahsh, would be divided into three parts: a third the way of God and a third for the poor and the unfortunate and a third for his *mawali* and the *mawali* of his son and their sons forever, as long as they continue to reproduce [**p.135**]. They must repair it and give a part as wages to the caretaker if it has one. If the *mawali* died off, and there was no one left, it went to the poor and the unfortunate in al-Fustat, Egypt and the city of the Messenger of God, according to the judgment of its governor in regards to its buildings. And the name of Abu 'Abd al-Rahman is Yazid ibn Unays ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr ibn Habib ibn 'Amr ibn Shayban ibn Muharib ibn Fihr. And 'Amr ibn Habib was Aklil al-Saqab and his black mother is Bint Zuhrah ibn Kilab, and he is the one who the poet says,

The sons of Akl al-Saqb, they are like stars on the horizon of the sky, shining.[287]

There was, at the House of the Chain, and I do not know whether it is this house or another, a water basin of marble and it was full of *tila`* [a drink, possibly wine] during festivals. Vessels were put on it and the people drank and continued in that manner until 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz was governor and stopped that practice. In al-Fustat there were other houses called the house of the chain except this one was the House of al-Fihri and from it was the House of al-Sahmi that was among the Sandal Makers and the house in the Alley of the Lamps in which al-Asbagh, the legalist, lived.

He said and 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan built the city blocks, the City Block of Honey, the City Block of Rope, and the City Block of the Rams, and they were among the property of the people from Bala whom were called Muhawiha. And the city block in which clothes were sold, and it is the one which is known as the City Block of 'Abd al-'Aziz, where some of the people of the banner had property. And the House of Ka 'b ibn

'Addi al- 'Abadi was in it, but he exchanged it for his house that was among the Banu Wa'il. He said and Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik built the city block that is known as the City Block of Hisham, in which the Fustati clothes are sold in the space between the castle and the Nile. And a space remained after that, between the Banu Wa'il and the sea, and the Banu al- 'Abbas granted it to the people. He said and 'Amr ibn al- 'As, when he was governor, granted Wardan, his *mawla*, the land that was behind the stone bridge [with arches]. To the south of it was Abu Humayd who owned up to the church of the Byzantines there. What was at your right at the head of the ancient pontoon bridge to the Bath of the Rams, was the bath that is known today as the Bath of the Market [**p. 136**]. And on the other side to the coast of Maris, all of that belonged to al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik. Al-Walid also had what was on your left from the island as you go out to al-Gizah and the shops next to the Island of Industry.

'Umar ibn al-Khattab, may God be satisfied with him, had granted Ibn Sandar a house called Munyah al-Asbagh and he obtained from it for himself one thousand *faddan*, as Yahya ibn Khalid related to us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa'd.[288] And we did not hear that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab granted anything to anyone in Egypt except to Ibn Sandar, whom he granted the land of Munyah al-Asbagh that remained his until he died. Al-Asbagh ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz bought it from his inheritance and there was no older land grant in Egypt than that, and none more preferable. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to the grandfather of 'Amr ibn Shurayb said that the reason for 'Umar granting it was that there was a slave boy who was called Sandar, who belonged to Zinba' al-Judhami.[289] Al-Judhami found Sandar kissing a slave girl belonging to him. He castrated him and cut off his ears and his nose. Sandar came to the Messenger of God, who sent for Zinba' and said, "You do not make them bear what you can not

endure. You should feed them what you eat and clothe them with what you wear, and if you are satisfied, keep, and if you dislike, sell. Do not torture God's creatures. Whoever is mutilated or burned in the fire is free and is *mawla* to God and his messenger," thus Sandar was emancipated. Sandar said, "Appoint someone to look after me, oh Messenger of God." The Messenger of God said, "I entrust you with every Muslim." When the Messenger of God died, Sandar came to Abu Bakr the trustworthy, may God be satisfied with him, and said, "Do you remember the order of the Messenger of God concerning me?" Abu Bakr supported him until he died. Then he came to 'Umar and said to him, "Do you remember the order of the Prophet concerning me?" He said, "Yes, if you are satisfied to stay with me, I will do what Abu Bakr did for you. If not, chose which place you wish to live and I will write to the one in charge." And Sandar chose Egypt for it is the country of arable land. 'Umar wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As for him to comply with the injunction of the Messenger of God [**p. 137**].

When Sandar arrived, 'Amr granted him a wide portion of land and a house where Sandar began living. When he died, it was seized as the wealth of God. 'Amr ibn Shu 'ayb said then that 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan granted it to the al-Asbagh afterwards and it is among the best of their wealth. Ibn Wahb.... to Ibn Sandar, who said that he was a slave belonging to Zinba' ibn Salamah al-Judhami who scolded him, castrated him and mutilated him.[290] He came to the Messenger of God and told him about that. The Messenger of God spoke rudely to Zinba', and he freed Sandar from him so Sandar said, "Entrust me oh Messenger of God." The Messenger of God said, "I entrust you to every Muslim." Yazid said, "And Sandar was a non-believer." 'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that there was a slave boy belonging to Zinba' al-Judhami whom Zinba' accused and ordered his castration and the cutting of his nose and

ears.[291] He came to the Messenger of God who freed him, and said, "Whatever slave is mutilated like him, he is free and is *mawla* to God and his messenger." He was in al-Madinah with the Messenger of God who was friendly to him. When the sickness of the Messenger of God intensified, Ibn Sandar said to him, "Oh Messenger of God, we are as you see so who will there be to look after us after you die?" The Messenger of God said, "I entrust you to every believer." When Abu Bakr became governor, may God be satisfied with him, he decreed a maintenance on him until he died. And when 'Umar ibn al-Khattab became governor, Ibn Sandar came to him and he said, "Comply with the injunction of the Messenger of God." He said to him, "Consider which camps of the Muslims you want and I will order what is suitable for you." And Ibn Sandar said, "I want to go to Egypt," so he wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As ordering him to give him suitable land and he continued in what was suitable for him in Egypt. He is called Sandar and Ibn Sandar, only God knows which is correct. And the people of Egypt have two traceable *hadiths* from him. This is one of them and the other is related by Yahya ibn Bukayr and 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Ibn Sandar, who said that the Messenger of God said, "Aslam is saved by God, Ghifar is forgiven by God and Tujib responded to God and his messenger."[292] Ibn Bukayr said in his *hadith*, "And I said, [**p.138**] 'Oh Abu al-Aswad did you hear the Messenger of God mentioning the Tujib?' He said, 'Yes.' I said, 'Shall I tell the people on your authority?' And he said, 'Yes.'"

The Exit of Amr to the Countryside

'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to Abu Qabil who said that the people used to gather in al-Fustat when they returned and the goodness of the countryside was present.[293] 'Amr ibn al- 'As addressed the people. He said, "The convenience of your country lands are present, so go. When the milk becomes sour, the reeds become barren and the flies

become numerous, come to your caravan town, [al-Fustat] and do not announce that one of you who came had made himself fat but had not given anything in charity." Ahmad ibn 'Amr.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that 'Amr used to say to the people when they returned from their raids, "Spring has arrived and whoever among you wishes to go with his horse and pasture it on the spring growth, let him do it.[294] And do not announce a man had made himself fat while his horse was lean. When the milk goes sour, the flies become numerous and the reeds are barren, return to your al-Fustat. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us that al-Layth ibn Sa 'd related to us that 'Amr ibn al- 'As used to say to the people when they returned, "Go to your country lands and when the flies sing, the milk goes sour and the reeds are barren, come to your al-Fustat."

This speech of 'Amr ibn al- 'As was related by Sa 'id ibn Maysarah.... to Bahir ibn Dhakhir al-Ma 'afiri, who said that he and his father went to the Friday prayer at midday heat and that was at the end of winter, or so he thought.[295] It was a few days after the *Hamim al-Nasari*.[296].[**p.139**] They lengthened the praying and then men approached with whips in their hands, driving the people away. He said that he was alarmed and said, "Oh my father who are these men?" He said, "Oh my son they are the policemen," and the muezzins raised the prayer and 'Amr ibn al- 'As stood on the *minbar*. He described him as a man of average height with a large head, black eyes and bright countenance of the face, who wore clothes of many colors as if it were gold. Glistening on him was a robe, a turban and a *jubbah*. He praised God and extolled Him a brief praise, prayed for the Prophet and preached to the people, commanding and forbidding certain things. He heard him urge the *zakah* and the visiting of kinship. He commanded the populace to economize and forbid excessiveness, and ordered them not

to have too many children. He said about that, "Oh community of people, there are four things I should forbid to you because of the toil after the rest, the hardships after the abundance and humbleness after the greatness (and I warn you not to have too many children). And these are the four things: living extravagantly, the wasting of wealth and the gossip about nonsense. Then it is inevitable that someone should have spare time for letting his body relax and preparing his affairs and emptying himself from his desires. Whoever does that, let him follow in moderation and seek the smallest share. The man should not waste the time for knowledge for himself, because he would miss some goodness, nor should he deny what God allows lest his restrictions be forgotten. Oh community of people, the Gemini had descended, the star Sirius has flared up, the heavens prepared, the epidemic was raised [are not suffering anymore], the rains were less and the grasslands pleasant, pregnant ones gave birth, the lambs proceeded and the governor should treat his governed well. Go with the blessing of God to your country lands and enjoy from its goodness, its milk, its yearlings, its game, and pasture your horses and fatten them and maintain and honor them. They are your protection from your enemy, for in them are your spoils and your work burden. Also, treat the Copts who live next to you well. I warn you against things musked and honeyed [probably talking of women] that they corrupt the religion and make people reluctant to work. 'Umar, the Commander of the Faithful, related to me that he heard the Messenger of God saying, 'God will conquer Egypt for you after me so entreat the Copts well [**p.140**].'"

'Amr continued, "For from them you have a relationship by marriage and the *dhimmah*. Restrain your hands and refrain from illegal sex and lower your eyes. I do not want to know that a man comes whose body is well fed but his horse is emaciated.

Know that I inspect the horses as I inspect the men, and whoever emaciates his horse from something other than sickness, I will decrease his share to the extent of that. And know that you are in holy war to the day of resurrection because of the great quantity of the enemies around you, [horses needed to fight] and your enemies' hearts long for you and your abode. The horses are the source of wealth, the abundance of cultivation and water and the growing blessing. 'Umar, the Commander of the Faithful, related to me that he heard the Messenger of God saying, 'If God conquers Egypt for you, take a great army from them and that army will be the best soldiers on earth.' Abu Bakr said to him, 'Why, oh Messenger of God?' He said, 'Because they [soldiers and their wives] are in holy war to the day of resurrection.'"[297] And 'Amr said, "Praise God, oh community of people, for what is entrusted to you and be content on your country land with what is good for you. And if the reeds bend, the posts become hot, the flies increase, the milk becomes sour, the greens dry and the flowers are cut from the bushes, go to your al-Fustat with the blessing of God. Do not let any one of you with a family come to his family unless he has a gift for them according to his capabilities. I recite this speech of mine and ask that God protect you." He said, "I remember that from him. And after we went home my father said when I related his speech to him that, 'He, oh my dear son, urges the people when they come to him to *jihad* as much as he urged them to the country land, gentleness and pleasurable life.'"[298]

The Quartering of the Army

He said and when the time of spring and the milk had come, he wrote to everyone to enjoy their spring and their milk and to go to where they like. The villages to which most of the tribes went were: Manuf, Disbandis, Ahnas and Taha. The people of the banner were dispersed and the family of 'Amr ibn al- 'As and the family of 'Abd Allah

ibn Sa 'd went to Manf and Wasim.

The Hudhayl went to Bana and Busayr. The Adwan went to Busayr, [p.141] and of the villages that the 'Akk went to, the greatest were Busayr, Manuf, Disbandis and Atrib. The Bala went to Manf and Tarabiyah. The Fahm went to Atrib, 'Ayn Shams and Manuf. The Mahrah went to Tata and Tumayy. The Sadaf went to al-Fayyum. The Tujib went to Tumayy, Bastah and Wasim. The Lakhm went to al-Fayyum, Tarabiyah and Qurbayt. And the Judham went to Tarabiyah and Qurbayt. The Hadramiyun went to Baba, 'Ayn Shams and Atrib. The Murad went to Manf and al-Fayyum, and with them were the 'Abs ibn Zawf. The Himyar went to Busayr and the villages of Ahnas. The Khawlan went to the villages of Ahnas, al-Bahnasi and al-Qays. The family of Wa 'la went to Saft of Busayr. And the family of Abrahah went to Manf. The Ghifar and Aslam, with Wa'il from the Judham and Sa 'd, went to Bastah, Qurbayt and Tarabiyah. The family of Yasar ibn Dinnah went to Atrib. And the al-Ma 'afir went to Atrib, Sakha and Manuf. The Ta'ifah, a band of the Tujib, and the Murad went to al-Yadqun.

And some of these tribes perhaps went to other areas in the spring, but it is not so clear cut. Most of the tribes went to where we described.

And it was written that the spring growth was theirs and they took their share [one quarter] of the milk. The Layth and the Ghifar also had their share [one quarter] in Atrib. He said and the Mudlij established themselves in Kharibta and took it as a residence. There was a group from the Himyar and the Dhubhan and others who were with them. They joined in alliance concerning that so it was their residence as well. Khushayn and a group from the Lakhm and Judham returned and made camp at the region of San, Iblil and Tarabiyah, but they were not remembered.[209] [p. 142]

The Qays were not at the eastern border in former times. However, they were the ones whom Ibn al-Habhab settled there. And he arrived at Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik, and 'Abd al-Malik gave him five thousand or three thousand men to command. 'Abd al-Rahman did not know which, five or three thousand. Ibn al-Habhab took his share of the Qays, and he arrived with them and settled them on the eastern border in Egypt.

The Horses of Egypt

He said that when the people settled their houses, to please them, they went out and trained the horses at the racetrack. Ahmad ibn 'Amr.... to Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj who said that he passed by a man at the racetrack who had a *mumsak* horse(with his bridle) at the sand dune, and he sent his slave boy in order to see who the man was. [300] It was Abu Dharr. Ibn Hudayj approached him and said to him, "Oh Abu Dharr, I saw this horse has caused you trouble and I did not see that he was a good horse." Abu Dharr said, "This is not an ordinary horse." Ibn Hudayj said to him, "And what is the appeal of one of the riding animals over the others," and Abu Dharr said, "It is not for a horse except to praise God early every morning. He says, 'Oh God you have made me a slave of your slaves and you give me my sustenance by his hand. Oh God make me dearer to him than his son, his family and his wealth.'" My father, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, and Shu 'ayb ibn al-Layth.... to Ibn Shumasah said that Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj related to him that he passed by Abu Dharr while he was standing by a horse belonging to him and he asked him, "What are you trying to do with your horse?"[301] He said, "I think this horse's prayer has been answered," then he mentioned something like the *hadith* of Ibn Wahb. Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr ibn Lahi 'ah, on the authority of Qays ibn al-Hajjaj, said that 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj passed by us (going toward Safa Mahrah) while we were seated with Hanash ibn 'Abd Allah. He neglected the greeting and

Hanash called to him. "Oh Ibn Mu 'awiyah you pass by and do not greet us. by God I imagine myself pleading for you with your father that he make a stirrup for your saddle in which you can put your foot." 'Abd al-Rahman said. "For the offspring of Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj there are no stirrups for their saddles. rather they jump on their horses" [**p.143**].

He said. and the origins of the horses of Egypt were from the horses whom Ibn 'Ufayr named. One of them Ashqar Sadaf. which was for Abu Na 'imah Malik ibn Na 'imah al-Sadafi. after which Khawkha Ashqar [area] was named in al-Fustat. Egypt. The reason for that was that al-Ashqar died and his master did not want to throw him into the piles as the corpses of the beasts are thrown. He dug his grave for him there and buried him. Thus. the place is attributed to him. My father. 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. related to us saying that when the Muslims conquered the fortress. there was a man from the Byzantines approaching from the side of the small fortress on a gray Birdhawn [non-pedigree horse] while the Muslims were at the morning prayer. He was killing and stabbing the Muslims and the cavalry of the Muslims searched for him. but were not able to find him. The owner of al-Ashqar had been absent. When he arrived. he was informed of that incident and he laid in wait for him. The infidel approached and continued to kill. so the owner of al-Ashqar went looking for him. When he reached him. he said. "I busy myself with the killing of the infidel." Al-Ashqar charged the half-breed horse and killed it. And another horse of Egypt was Dhu al-Rish. the horse of al- 'Awwam ibn Habib al-Yahsabi and al-Khattar. the horse of Lubayd ibn 'Uqbah al-Sumi. and al-Dhu 'luq the horse of Himyar ibn Wa`il al-Sumi. and 'Ajla the horse who belonged to 'Akk. The poet said about 'Ajla.

The people surpassed 'Ajla. but it surpassed them while it was pregnant.

'Abd al-Wahid ibn Ishaq.... to Abu Hurayrah said that the Messenger of God named the female of the horse a mare.[302] He said that 'Ajla is the one of which 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj said to Namir ibn Ayfa` al 'Akki, " 'Ajla was not done in mockery of him." And he said, "She indeed has two shares in your mother.[303] He said and the Lakhm also had a mare which was called Ablaq of Lakhm.[304] And al-Jawn belonged to 'Uqbah ibn Kulayb al-Hadrami. 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan asked for al-Khattar from Lubayd ibn 'Uqbah, but 'Uqba refused him so 'Abd al 'Aziz sent him on an expedition to Africa where he died. Later, when Musa ibn Nusayr led horses to 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwan, among them was al-Khattar. He said that his mane and tail had become long and when the horses came to them they did not find anyone who recognized al-Khattar so they said ,"Ibnat Lubayd would know which horse it is." 'Abd al- 'Aziz sent for her and she said to whoever came near her, "I am a woman; leave me until I look at him," and they did that. She went out and looked at him and recognized him and she said, "By God [**p.144**] no one will ride you in one piece after my father."[305] Then she cut off the two ears of the horse and removed the hair of his tail and said, "Take him; there is no blessing of God for you over him." He went to 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan who used him as a stud horse. And al-Dha`id descended from him then al-Farqad from al-Dha`id and al-Farqad was the father of the Farqadi horses. Al-Farqad never lost a race with a horse of Egypt. The people of Egypt, when Marwan ibn al-Hakam arrived at al-Qasara, sent 'Uqbah ibn Shurayh ibn Kulayb al-Ma 'afiri and Mutayar ibn Yazid al-Tujibi to him in the forefront. Mutayar on that day was on al-Khattar, the horse of Lubayd ibn 'Uqbah al-Sumi. They entered the camp of Marwan and moved freely in it. An old man from the people of the army felt that their appearance was strange. He said, "By God I do not recognize the appearance of these

two horses, and I do not see the wanness of travel on their horsemen." They turned around returning to al-Fustat and they passed by a she-camel, which belonged to Bishr ibn Marwan, that was screaming shrilly at the edge of the camp. One of them took her, and when the horsemen caught up with them, Mutayar said to 'Uqbah, "Drive off the she-camel and I will make a distraction." Mutayar turned around and fought them until he fled, then he joined his companion. Then the horsemen caught up with him also. He did the likes of that until they reached al-Fustat, and the camp dwellers asked them about the news. They said, "Not until you slaughter the she-camel and eat her flesh, since she is the first booty." The she-camel was slaughtered and her flesh was eaten, then they told them the news that they were stronger than *rajl.*[306]

Shu 'ayb ibn al-Layth, 'Abd Allah ibn Salih, Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr and 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As: "Look and see who is before you of who had sworn allegiance under the tree, and fulfill the gift for them of two hundred.[307] Fulfill it for yourself, for the duties of your command, and complete it for Kharijah ibn Hudhafah for his bravery and for 'Uthman ibn Abi al- 'As for his hospitality" [**p.145**].

The Sharing of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab with the Representatives

He said, then 'Umar ibn al-Khattab sent Muhammad ibn Maslamah, as Mu 'awiyah ibn Salih related to us on the authority of Muhammad ibn Sama 'ah al-Ramli, who said that 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz, a trusted elder to 'Amr ibn al- 'As, related to him. And 'Umar wrote to him: "You are the community of the agents; you remain at the sources of the wealth and you are in charge of the treasury. You wrongfully collect the forbidden [money] and you eat the forbidden and you bequeath the forbidden, so I have sent Muhammad ibn Maslamah al-Ansari to you in order to share your wealth with you.

so bring your wealth. Peace." When Muhammad ibn Maslamah arrived in Egypt. 'Amr ibn al- 'As brought him a gift. but Maslamah returned it to him. 'Amr became angry and said. "Oh Muhammad why do you return my gift to me? Upon my arrival from the raid of the Salasil. I brought a gift to the Messenger of God and he received it." And Muhammad said to him. "The Messenger of God receives with inspiration what he wants and abstains from what he wants. If it were a gift of the brother to his brother. I would receive it. However. it is a gift of a leader. so evil is behind it." 'Amr said. "May God dislike the day in which I became a governor for 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. I have seen al- 'As ibn Wa'il wearing the silk brocade [this is unlawful for men] with buttons of gold. and al-Khattab ibn Nufayl carrying firewood on a donkey in Makkah." Muhammad ibn Maslamah said to him. "Your father and his father are in hell. and 'Umar is better than you. If it were not for the day in which you are now criticizing. [you are a governor now] you would have been found holding a goat. and pleased if it gave you milk and unhappy without it."[308] 'Amr said. "It is the oversight of anger: I beseech you not to tell anyone." Then he brought him his wealth and shared it with him and then returned.

He said and the reason for the sharing of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab with the representatives was as Abu al-Aswad al-Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar and 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah on the authority of Yazid ibn Abi Habib on the authority of Khalid ibn al-Sa 'q. [**p.146**] who said that poetry was written about it for 'Umar ibn al-Khattab.

Convey a letter to the Commander of the Faithful. and you are governor of the treasury of God.

And do not leave [do not let them get away] the people in charge of the jizyah and the rasatiq alone. Do not let them consume the money of God in the ample bundles.

And send to Nu 'man and check his account, and send to Jaz` and to Bishr.

And do not forget both brothers of the Banu Ghazwan and the in-laws of the Banu Ghazwan.

And do not summon me to testify, for I will be absent. But I see the amazement of things.

From horses as the gazelles and white [women] as dolls, and do not forget the blanket from the screen.

And from the bedclothes and from the saffron-dyed, perfumed curtains.

When the Indian trader comes with a container of musk, it travels in the head part and pours down.

We sell if they sell, and we raid if they raid, so how come they have money and we are not people of wealth.

Take half, may I sacrifice myself for you that they will be satisfied that you take part of the share.[309]

'Umar shared half of their wealth with them. And al-Nu 'man is al-Nu 'man ibn Bashir, who was at Hims as governor and was related by marriage to the Banu Ghazwan Abu Hurayrah who was at al-Bahrayn. He said and it is said that the reader of these verses was Abu al-Mukhtar al-Numayri, as Mu 'awiyah ibn Salih related to us on the authority of Yahya ibn Ma 'in on the authority of Wahb ibn Jarir on the authority of his father on the authority of al-Zubayr ibn al-Khirit Abu Mukhtar al-Numayri, who recited, [**p.147**]

Convey a letter to the Commander of the Faithful, because you are the trusted on earth and sea.

And send to Nu 'man and check his account, and send to Jaz` and to Bishr.

And do not forget both and that is the one in the market of the mawla of the Banu Badr.

And this 'Asim, his bundles are not empty, neither is Ibn Ghalab from the notables of the Banu Nasr.

We sell if they sell, and we raid if they raid, so how come they have money and we are not people of wealth.

They have the horses of short hair [noble] as fast as race horses and the white as dolls, and do not forget the blanket from the screen.

And from the bedclothes and from the saffron-dyed, perfumed curtains.

When the Indian trader comes with a container of musk, it travels in the head part and pours down.

Take that, the money of God and do not leave it, they will be satisfied that you take part of the share.

And do not summon me to testify, for I will be absent. But I see the amazement of things.

'Umar said, "And we have exempt him from the testimony of faith and we will take half of their wealth from them," so he took half. 'Umar had previously used those people.[310] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah..... to the grandfather of Ja 'far ibn Rabi 'ah, who said that he advised that he pay 'Umar ibn al-Khattab half of his wealth, and 'Umar used it for some of his responsibilities.[311] Asad ibn Musa.... to Abu Hurayrah who said, "When I arrived from al-Bahrayn, 'Umar said to me, 'Oh enemy of God, enemy of Islam you plundered the wealth of God.'[312] I said, 'I am not the enemy of God nor the enemy of Islam, however I am the enemy of whoever reverts back from them. I did not plunder the wealth of God, rather it is the price of horses which produces offspring for me, and also things I accumulated while fighting.'[313] He said, 'Oh enemy of God, enemy of Islam you plundered the wealth of God.' I said, 'I am not an enemy of God nor an enemy of Islam, however I am an enemy of whoever is hostile to them. I did not

plunder the wealth of God, rather it is the price of horses which produces offspring for me, and also what I accumulated while fighting'" [**p.148**].

"He said that three times, and Abu Hurayrah replied to him with this statement. 'So fine me twelve thousand,' and I rose in the morning prayer and I said, 'Oh God pardon the Commander of the Faithful because he still wanted me to work, but I refused.' He said, 'And is not Joseph better than you because he had asked for the job?' I said, 'Joseph was a prophet, the son of a prophet and I am the son of Umaymah and I fear three and two.' He said, 'Don't you mean five?' I said, 'No, shut up.[314] I am afraid to speak without patience and to judge without knowledge. I fear that my back will be beaten, my honor abused and my wealth will be taken.'"

<u>The Nile</u>

'Uthman ibn Salih.... to 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr ibn al- 'As said that the Nile of Egypt is the master of the rivers.[315] God made every river between the east and west subservient to it. When God wants to make the Nile of Egypt flow, he commands every river to extend to it. The rivers helped the flow of the Nile with their waters, and God split the land into springs. When its flow ended where God wanted, God inspired all the water to return to its origin. 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to Mu 'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan, who asked Ka 'b al-Ahbar, "Did you find news of this Nile in the Book of God?"[316] He said, "Yes, by he who split the sea for Musa, indeed I found it in the Book of God." God inspired it twice every year. He inspired it at its flow, "God orders you to flow so it flows as God had written." Then he inspires it after that, "Oh Nile recede praiseworthy one." 'Abd Allah ibn Yusuf.... to Abu Hurayrah said that the Messenger of God said that the Nile, the Sayhan, the Jayhan and al-Furat are among the rivers of paradise.[317] 'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to Ka 'b al-Ahbar said that he used to say four rivers are from paradise and

God put them on earth.[318] [p.149]

The Nile is the river of honey in paradise, al-Furat is the river of wine in paradise, the Sayhan is the river of water in paradise and the Jayhan is the river of milk in paradise. Sa 'id ibn Abi Maryam.... to Ka 'b said that the Nile, in the after life, is honey more plentiful than what was from the rivers that God named.[319] The Dijlah, in the after life, is milk more plentiful than what was from the rivers that God named. Al-Furat is wine more plentiful than what was from the rivers that God named, and the Jayhan is water more plentiful than what was from the rivers that God named.[320]

He said and when 'Amr ibn al- 'As conquered Egypt, as related by 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to Qays ibn al-Hajjaj on the authority of whoever related it to him, its inhabitants came to 'Amr ibn al- 'As.[321] Ba`unah, one of the most famous of the non-Arabs, came and they said to him, "Oh commander, our Nile does not flow except by a tradition. And he said to them, "What is that?" They said, "When the twelfth night of this month has elapsed, we approach a virgin slave girl still living with her parents and satisfy her parents. Then we put pieces of jewelry on her and the finest clothing possible. It is then that we throw her into the Nile." 'Amr said to them, "This will not be in Islam; Islam destroys what is before it." They remained during Ba`unah and Abib and Misra.[322] It scarcely flowed too little nor too much until they started evacuating. When 'Amr saw that, he wrote to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab about that and 'Umar wrote to him: "You are right, Islam will destroy what is before it so I have sent you a piece of paper. Throw it into the Nile when my letter reaches you." When the letter arrived to 'Amr, he opened the paper and there was written on it: "From the servant of God, 'Umar, the Commander of the Faithful, to the Nile of the people of Egypt. If you used to flow of your own accord, do not flow. And if God, the one who subdues, caused you to

flow. we ask God to make you flow." 'Amr threw the paper in the Nile before the day of the cross and the people of Egypt prepared for the evacuation of the Nile, [**p.150**] because there was nothing that safeguards their interest except the Nile.[323] They awoke on the day of the cross and God had caused sixteen cubits to flow at night. thus removing that evil tradition from the people of Egypt. 'Uthman ibn Salih related to us that Ibn Lahi 'ah related to us on the authority of Yazid ibn Abi Habib that Musa called on the family of Far 'awn [pharaohs] and God held back the Nile from them until they were about to evacuate. so they sought out Musa to pray to God. He prayed to God that they be believers. When they awoke in the morning. God had caused sixteen cubits to flow on that night. And God granted the prayer to extend the ability to reach God for 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. as he granted a prayer to his prophet. Musa.

The *Jizyah*

He said and 'Amr sent the *jizyah* to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab after keeping what he needed. 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that the share of Egypt was the digging of its canals. the construction of its bridges. the building of the aqueducts and maintaining its islands. and [he kept] 120.000 along with pick axes. brooms and all kinds of necessary tools. They took turns in charge of that construction and did not cease that winter nor summer.[324] Then 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. as related by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar. wrote that the *dhimmah* should be sealed on the necks of the people with lead so that they show their regions. and they should ride side saddle as well.[325] And. they should not put the *jizyah* on anyone except on whom should pay. They will not put it over women or children. and they should not allow them to copy the Muslims in their dress. Sha 'ib ibn al-Layth.... to Aslam. *mawla* of 'Umar [**p.151**] who said that he related to him that 'Umar wrote to the

commanders of the army not to put the *jizyah* on anyone except on whoever the straight razor went [those who were old enough].[326] And their *jizyah* was forty *dirhams* of gold, but the people of *wariq*, or those who had gold, paid four dinars.[327] They also owe for the livelihood of the Muslims from the wheat and oil; they owe two *midyan* of the wheat and three *aqsat* of oil every month for every man among the people of Syria and al-Jazirah.[328] As for the fat and honey, I do not know how much they owed. From the inhabitants of Egypt, an *irdabb* every month for every person was collected, but I do not know how much of the fat and honey they owed. They owed from the fabrics and the cloths [kiswah] so the Commander of the Faithful could clothe the people, and they must host as guests whoever stays with them from the people of Islam for three nights. And the people of al- 'Iraq should owe fifteen cubit measures [of something else not fat, probably, wheat] for every person; I do not know how much of the fat they should give. And the *jizyah* was not put over the women nor the youths, but it was sealed on the necks of the men of the people of the *jizyah*. He said and the fifteen *waybah* of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab was, as 'Abd al-Malik related to us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd, six *amdad* in the reign of 'Amr ibn al- 'As.[329] Asad ibn Musa.... to Harithah ibn Mudarrib said that 'Umar said, "I impose the obligation on the people of the Sawad that they host a guest for a day and night, but whoever was stranded because of rain, let him pay his expenses."[330] He said and 'Amr ibn al- 'As, when the concept of *jizyah* was established, ordered that the Copts collect taxes from the Byzantines and their tax [Byzantines'] was subjected to amendment. If the village prospered and its people increased, there was an increase over them. If its people decreased and were destroyed, the tax was decreased. The knowledgeable people of every village and the leaders of the people gathered to discuss reconstructing what had been ruined. They decided to

divide the excess. They took this divided share and went to al-Kur where they met the leaders of the other villages. [**p.152**] There they allotted the excess according to the capacity of the villages extent of tilled land. Then every village returned with its share and they gathered their share and the *kharaj* of every village and what was in it by way of the inhabited land. They sowed and divided (a square measure) from the totality for their churches, baths and ferries from the sum of the earth. Then, a share was taken from them for hosting the Muslims and the arrival of officials. When they were finished, they looked at what was in every village by way of craftsmen and workers, and they gave them in accordance with their need. If there was a foreign community, they gave them in accordance with their need, but it was rare to give [extra] to foreigners except for the wretched man or the one getting married.[331] Then they looked at what remained of the *kharaj* and they divided it between them according to the amount of land. Then they divided that between whoever wanted to cultivate it to the extent of their ability. And if anyone was incapable or complained of weakness from sowing his land, they would lesson his burden to equal his ability. If there was anyone who wanted more, he would be given what the weak people were incapable of. If they started to quarrel with one another, they divided that equally according to their numbers. Their division was at twenty-four *qirats* of the *dinar*. And likewise it was related from the Prophet, "You will conquer a land in which *al-qirat* is mentioned, so make its people your concern." And he put a *faddan*, half an *irdabb* of wheat and two *waybahs* of barley over them.[332] But he did not tax *al-Qurt*. There was no tax on it and the measure on that day was six *amdad*. 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, as related by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Ibn Shihab, took, from whoever made peace with him or those who made the contract, what he named for himself and nothing more or nothing less and did not increase on them.[333]

Whoever was not mentioned in the treaties concerning the *jizyah*, he decided himself how much they would pay. 'Umar looked at his case and if he was in need, he lightened their obligation. If they became rich, he increased on them to their ability. Haywah ibn Shurayh.... to Hisham ibn Abi Ruqayyah al-Lakhmi who related to him that someone from Ikhna came to 'Amr ibn al- 'As [**p.153**] and said to him, "Tell us what one of us owes by way of the *jizyah* in order that he may pay it."[334] 'Amr said, indicating to the pillar of the church, "If you give me from the ground to the roof, I will tell you what you owe since you are a treasury for us. If it becomes lighter for us, we will make it lighter for you." And whoever holds to this *hadith*, holds to the fact that Egypt was conquered by force.

'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz said that whichever *dhimmi* becomes a Muslim, his submission protects himself and his wealth, however, his land is surrendered land of God for the Muslims.[335] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us al-Layth ibn Sa 'd related to us that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz said that whoever made a settlement should give the *jizyah* while whoever among them becomes a Muslim, his land and his house remains with him. Al-Layth said, "Yahya ibn Sa 'id wrote to me that what the Copts sell in their *jizyah* and whatever they assume by way of the obligation from a slave or a newborn girl, a camel, a cow, or a riding animal, they are free to sell what they like and to whom they like. And it is lawful for whomever buys it from them without having to return it to them. If they are well off, what they rent of their land and its rent is lawful unless it prejudice the *jizyah*. Perhaps the land is returned to them if it is prejudicial to their *jizyah*. If the rent does not affect the *jizyah*, we feel its rent is lawful for whomever rents it from them." Yahya said, "And we said the *jizyah* was two *jizyahs*, a *jizyah* over the heads of men and the *jizyah* of the whole

sum, which was over the people of the villages and which is assumed by the people of the village. Whoever died from the people of the village, on whom was imposed a specified *jizyah*, it is not on the heads of the men. If that is the case, we think that of who had no son nor heir, his land would return to his village in the sum of what they owed of the *jizyah* [village would owe same amount of jizyah]. Whoever died of whose *jizyah* was over the heads of men [individual one] and did not leave an heir, his land would belong to the Muslims." Al-Layth said, "And 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz said that the *jizyah* was on the heads and was not over the lands, meaning the people of the *dhimmah*." 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz, who wrote to Hayyan ibn Surayj to put the *jizyah* of the dead Copts on their living ones.[336] And the *hadith* of 'Abd al-Malik indicates that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz [**p. 154**] thought that the land of Egypt was conquered by force. But the *jizyah* was over the villages. And whoever died from the people of the villages, over which the *jizyah* was established, that death did not lesson the *jizyah* in any way. He said, "And it is possible that Egypt was conquered by treaty and that treaty was established over whoever among them remained. From whoever died, nothing was taken from them of what they agreed to as a settlement."[337] Only God knows.

'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Ibn Jurayj said that a man became a Muslim at the time of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and he said, "Wave the *jizyah* from my land," and 'Umar said, "No, indeed, your land was conquered by force."[338] 'Abd al-Malik said that whatever the people of the peace treaty sold as a portion of their lands, that was permitted for them. What was conquered by force, no one among them bought that from them and the sale of any of their property and land was not permitted. Whoever among the people of the treaty became Muslims, they were more deserving of their land and

their wealth than those conquered by force. And as for the people of force, whoever among them became Muslims, his conversion protected himself but his land was given to the Muslims because the people of force were conquered in their country and became *fay'* for the Muslims. The people of the treaty, on the other hand, were people who refrained and defended their country until they made peace for it; they do not owe anything except what they agreed to by treaty. I do not think that anything should be increased over them nor anything taken from them except what 'Umar ibn al-Khattab had ordered, because 'Umar addressed the people and he said, "The religious duty has been imposed upon you and the customs have been prescribed for you and you have been left on the straight path" [talking to the Muslims]. He said, "And as for the *jizyah* of the land I have no knowledge of it." I do not know how 'Umar dealt with it without having settled the land except that he did not divide it among the people who conquered it. If this had occurred to anyone, I would have thought that he would have asked the knowledgeable and reliable people of the country how the matter was concerning that. If he could find information about that, it is solved and if not, he and whoever was present of the Muslims made a decision on their own. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us al-Layth ibn Sa 'd related to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz to wave the *jizyah* on whoever became a Muslim of the people of the *dhimmah* from the inhabitants of Egypt. And he added the names to the *diwan* of whoever of them became a Muslim from the groups of those who converted in his presence. And someone other than 'Abd al-Malik said, [**p.155**] "And the *jizyah* used to be taken before that from whoever converted." 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Razin ibn 'Abd Allah al-Muradi said that the first who took the *jizyah* from those who submitted from the people of the *dhimmah* was al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf.[339] Then 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan wrote to 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan to wave

the *jizyah* on whoever converted from the people of the *dhimmah*. And Ibn Hujayrah spoke to him about that and he said, "May God protect you, oh commander, that you not be the first who introduces that in Egypt, and by God those of the *dhimmah* will endure the *jizyah* from those who became monks. How do you wave it on whoever among them converts," and he left them at that.[340] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to Yazid ibn Abi Habib said that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz wrote to Hayyan ibn Surayj: "Wave the *jizyah* on whoever among the people of the *dhimmah* converts.[341] And God, be He Blessed and Exalted, has said that if they repent and undertake the prayer and bring the *zakah*, leave them. God is much forgiving and merciful. He said fight whoever is not a believer in God and in the judgment day and whoever does not forbid what God and his messenger forbid. And those who do not profess the religion of the truth should pay the *jizyah* in humiliation and be submissive." 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah related to us al-Layth ibn Sa 'd related to us saying that 'Abd Allah ibn Sa 'd had Christian *mawali*, and he set them free and the *kharaj* was over them. Al-Layth said, "We met them in the last days of their life and indeed they paid the *kharaj*." 'Uthman ibn Salih and 'Abd Allah ibn Salih related to us saying that al-Layth ibn Sa 'd related to us saying that when Ibn Rifa 'ah governed Egypt, he went out in order to count the number of inhabitants, looked into amending the *kharaj* over them. He continued that for six months in Upper Egypt until he reached Aswan. A group of helpers and scribes, who were sufficient enough for him in earnestness and preparedness, were with him. He spent three months in the lower lands and he counted more than ten thousand villages in which he did not count fewer than five hundred men, over whom he decreed the *jizyah* even in the smallest village.[342] [**p.156**].

The Hills Near Cairo

'Abd Allah ibn Salih related to us that al-Layth ibn Sa 'd related to us saying that al-Muqawqas asked 'Amr ibn al- 'As to sell him the foot of the Muqattam [hills near Cairo] for seventy thousand *dinar*s, and 'Amr was surprised at that and he said, "I will write to the Commander of the Faithful." He wrote that to 'Umar and 'Umar wrote to him: "Ask him why he gives you that while there is no agriculture nor any water discovered there, and there is no other use for it." And he asked him, and al-Muqawqas said, "Indeed we find its description in the books that there are plants of paradise there." And 'Amr wrote this to 'Umar and 'Umar wrote to him: "Indeed no one should know the plants of paradise except the believers; bury there whoever died before you from the Muslims and do not sell it for anything." The first who was buried there was a man from the al-Ma 'afir called 'Amir, and it became inhabited. And al-Muqawqas said to 'Amr, as related by 'Uthman ibn Salih.... to 'Umarah ibn 'Isa, "What is the matter with you, didn't you make a compact with us concerning this."[33] So he drew the boundary for them that was between the burial place and them. Hani' ibn al-Mutawakkil related to us on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah that al-Muqawqas said to 'Amr, "Indeed we find in our book that what was between this mountain and where you settled are the trees of paradise." And 'Amr wrote his statement to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and he said, "It is true, make it a burial place for the Muslims." Someone other than 'Umarah ibn 'Isa said, "And whoever was known from the companions of the Messenger of God were buried there, as 'Uthman ibn Salih related to us on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah on the authority of whoever related it to him, and they were five individuals including: 'Amr ibn al- 'As al-Sahmi, 'Abd Allah ibn Hudhafah al-Sahmi, 'Abd Allah ibn al-Harith ibn Jaz' al-Zubaydi, Abu Basrah al-Ghifari and

'Uqbah ibn 'Amir al-Juhani. And someone other than 'Uthman included Maslamah ibn Mukallad al-Ansari. Ibn Lahi 'ah said that the Muqattam was what was between Qusayr to the place of the rocks, which they used for quarry, and what was beyond that from al-Yahmum. And there was a difference of opinion regarding Qusayr. 'Uthman ibn Salih informed us on the authority of Ibn Lahi 'ah who said that it was not the Castle of Musa the prophet, but Musa the magician. Sa 'id ibn 'Ufayr and 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abbad.... to the father of al-Mufaddal ibn Fadalah who said, "We entered on Ka 'b al-Ahbar and he said to us, 'Who are your people?' And we said, 'We are from the people of Egypt.' And he said, 'What do you say about Qusayr?' He said, 'We say the Castle of Musa'" [344]. [**p.157**]

And he said it is not the Castle of Musa, but it is the Castle of 'Aziz of Egypt. The governor, when the Nile flowed, would take refuge in it because it was sacred from the mountain to the river. He said and it is said rather there was a light ignited in it for the pharaoh when he sailed from Manf to 'Ayn Shams. There was another light on the Muqattam, and when they saw the fire they knew he was coming and prepared what he wanted. Likewise, they did the same thing when he sailed, leaving 'Ayn Shams. Only God knows.

Hani' ibn al-Mutawakkil.... to Shufayy ibn 'Ubayd, who said that when he arrived in Egypt, the inhabitants of Egypt had adopted a place of prayer opposite the water pond of Abu 'Awn at the army.[345] And he said, "What do they do, they put their place of prayer at the accursed mountain and they left the holy mountain." Al-Hasan ibn Thawban said, "And they moved their place of prayer at the place that it is in today." Abu al-Aswad al-Nadar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar.... to Abu Qabil said that a man asked Ka 'b about the mountain of Egypt, and he said, "What was between Qusayr and Yahmum

was sacred."[346]

The Waiting of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab from 'Amr ibn al- 'As for the *Kharaj*

He said and 'Abd Allah ibn Salih related to us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd. who said that when 'Umar ibn al-Khattab was waiting for the *kharaj* from 'Amr ibn al-'As. he wrote to him: "In the name of 'Umar. Commander of the Faithful. to 'Amr ibn al-'As. peace be upon you and I praise God to thee in thy presence of whom there is no God but Him. I have thought about you and what you owe and your land is a wide. extensive. fine land. God gave its people numbers and endurance and strength by land and sea. The pharaohs were concerned with the land and worked it in masterful ways despite the intensity of their insolence and their disbelief. I was surprised at what surprised me; the fact that Egypt does not convey half of what was collected from the *kharaj* before despite the fact that there is no drought nor dry lands. I have continued to remind you about what is imposed on your land by way of the *kharaj* [**p.158**].

And I thought that that would come to us in significant amounts. so I hope that you awake and you report that to me. However. you bring me reports in which you refuse what I had in mind of the *kharaj*. They do not suit me. and I will not receive anything from you except the amount taken from the *kharaj* before. I do not know. however. what it is that frightened you about my letter and made you miserly. If you were right. competent and correct. then honesty is good. If you were wasteful. then the matter is other than what you told yourself. I have not been so strict that I sought that from you in the past year in hopes that you awake and forward that to me. I know that nothing prevented you from raising more of the *kharaj*. except that your representatives were evil and are covering up for the corruption and using you as a scapegoat. I have. with the permission of God. a remedy to cure that which I ask about. Do not worry. Abu

'Abd Allah, that the right will be taken from you and you will be given it[347]. Being greedy makes you sacrifice everything, but the truth is clear and there is no way to cover it up. What has been concealed has became known. Peace." And 'Amr ibn al- 'As wrote to him: "In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate to the servant of God, 'Umar, the Commander of the Faithful from 'Amr ibn al- 'As peace be upon you and I praise God to you of whom there is no God but He. The letter of the Commander of the Faithful reached me in which he thought me tardy in way of the *kharaj*, and in which he mentioned the work of the pharaohs before me and his surprise of its *kharaj* at their hands and the decrease of that since Islam came into being. By my life, the *kharaj* on that day was more copious and abundant and the land more populated, because they were, despite their disbelief and their insolence, more desirous in cultivation of their land than since the coming of Islam. And you mention that greediness leads one to sacrifice everything that he has. I have milked Egypt until I have cut off its abundance. However, you continued your letters and you reproached and blamed me [went too far], and I knew that that was the result of something which you concealed despite knowledge. I swear that you mentioned awesome atrocities and harmful things and you are right in your speech of unshakable, harsh, profound rhetoric [**p.159**].

And we worked for the Messenger of God and whoever was after him. And we thank God we fulfilled our responsibilities honestly, and observed what rights God ordered us to keep for our leaders. Therefore, we saw anything other than this as shameful and practicing it was harmful and people knew we did this. May God protect us from those bad temptations, the most evil of customs, and stop this kind of allegations. God has declared me above those base practices and the desire for them. After your letter,

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which you did not respect any honor in it and in which you did not honor a brother. by God oh Ibn al-Khattab. if I am required to do these base things I will become very angry. I value myself more than that. I did not do any work that I could be blamed for. But I have observed what you did not. However. even if I were one of the Jews of Yathrib you would not have increased anything [you could not say anything meaner if I were a Jew]. God will grant us a pardon. I have been silent about mal practices in which I was aware of. and I held my tongue because God has made me respectful to you. Peace."

And 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote to him. as I found in a book that Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr gave me from 'Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Ja 'far from Abu Marzuq al-Tujibi from Abu Qays. *mawla* to 'Amr ibn al- 'As: "From 'Umar ibn al-Khattab to 'Amr ibn al-'As. peace be upon you and may I praise you to God that there is no God but He. I was surprised at the number of times that I wrote to you about your delay with the *kharaj* and your letter to me about the building of roads. You knew that I would not be satisfied with anything but the facts and the truth. I did not send you to Egypt to make it a property subsistence for you nor for your people. However. I dispatched you for what I wanted from you by way of raising the *kharaj* and the best of your policies. When this letter of mine reaches you. send the *kharaj*. It was land surrendered to the Muslims. and among me are those who you know are suffering. Peace." 'Amr ibn al-'As. wrote: "Peace be upon you and I praise you to God that there is no God but He. The letter of the Commander of the Faithful has reached me in which he was waiting a long time for the *kharaj*. and he claims that I deviate from the truth and that I am turning aside from the true path. By God I do not dislike the general interest of 'Umar's people as you know however. the people of the land request a delay from me until their crops come in [**p.160**].

And I have looked at the Muslims and they preferred mercy rather than putting hardship on those people [the Copts] because they would be led to sell. peace."

'Abd Allah ibn Salih related to us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd that 'Amr collected twelve million for the *kharaj*. Someone other than al-Layth said that al-Muqawqas collected twenty million a year before him. And that is why 'Umar wrote what he wrote. Al-Layth said that 'Abd Allah ibn Sa 'd collected fourteen million when 'Uthman put him in charge. And 'Uthman said to 'Amr, "Oh Abu 'Abd Allah, it gave more [refers to Egypt] than its first flow. 'Amr said, "You injure its child" [means will not be anything left in Egypt]. And someone other than al-Layth said, "And 'Amr said to him that the weaned camel will not die."

Hisham ibn Ishaq al- 'Amari related to us saying that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As to ask al-Muqawqas of Egypt from where prosperity and destruction of Egypt comes. 'Amr asked him and al-Muqawqas said to him, "Its prosperity and destruction comes from the five aspects; to take the *kharaj* as soon as the people finish their harvest, send the *kharaj* when the people finish pressing their vineyards and dig its canal every year when its canals and its damns are damned up and corruption should not be accepted. If this were done in Egypt, the flow of wealth will last a long time. If something else is done, it will be destroyed." In the book of Ibn Bukayr, who gave it to me from Ibn Zayd ibn Aslam from his father, it said that when 'Umar ibn al-Khattab waited a long time for 'Amr ibn al- 'As for the *kharaj*, he wrote to him to send him a man from the people of Egypt. 'Amr sent an old man from the Copts to him, who informed 'Umar about Egypt and its *kharaj* before Islam. The old man said, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, nothing was taken from it except after maintaining it and constructing it; your representative does not look at the prosperity. Rather he takes

what appears to him, as if he does not want to use it except for one year." 'Umar realized what he said and accepted from 'Amr what he used to apologize for [**p.161**].

The Ban on the Army for Cultivation

He said then 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, from what 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah.... to 'Abd Allah ibn Hubayrah said, ordered his herald to go out to the commanders of the armies and to the peasants and tell them that their gift is established for them, and that the livelihood of their households is established so that they do not need to sow.[348] Ibn Wahb said Sharik ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Muradi informed me saying that he heard that Sharik ibn Summayy al-Ghutayfi came to 'Amr ibn al- 'As and he said, "You do not give us what you decreed for us, will you then permit me to sow my land?" And 'Amr said to him, "I am not capable of that," so Sharik sowed the land without permission of 'Amr. When that reached 'Amr, he wrote to Umar ibn al-Khattab telling him that Sharik ibn Summayy al-Ghutayfi plowed the land of Egypt. 'Umar wrote requesting that al-Ghutayfi be sent to him. When the letter of 'Umar reached 'Amr, he had Sharik read it. Sharik said to 'Amr, "You have killed me oh 'Amr." 'Amr said, "I did not kill you; you did this to yourself." Then he said to him, "Since this was your idea, grant me permission to go to him without a letter and you have the pledge of God that I will put my hand in his hand." Therefore, 'Amr gave him permission to go. When he reached 'Umar, he said, "Believe me oh Commander of the Faithful." 'Umar said, "And from which army are you?" Al-Ghutayfi said, "From the army of Egypt." 'Umar said, "And perhaps you are Sharik ibn Summayy al-Ghutayfi?" 'Umar said, "Yes, oh Commander of the Faithful." He said, "Shall I put a punishment on whoever is after you, or will you receive from me what God receives from his worshippers?" Al-Ghutayfi said, "Yes." And 'Umar wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As that Sharik ibn Summayy came to him repentant and he

received it.

The Digging of the Canal of the Commander of the Faithful

'Abd Allah ibn Salih or someone else related to us on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa 'd that a disaster afflicted the people at al-Madinah during the caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab in the year of the drought. 'Umar wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As while 'Amr was in Egypt: "From the servant of God, 'Umar the Commander of the Faithful, to al- 'As ibn al- 'As. Peace. [**p.162**] To 'Amr, oh 'Amr what do you think if you and whoever was with you have eaten your fill, that I and whoever is with me perishes, oh help! Then, oh help!" He repeated his statement and 'Amr ibn al- 'As wrote to him: "To the servant of God, 'Umar the Commander of the Faithful, from 'Amr ibn al- 'As. Oh I am at your service, oh I am at your service. I have sent a caravan to you; the first of the caravan is at your place and the end of it at mine, so peace be upon you and the mercy of God." And he sent a great caravan to him. The first of it was in al-Madinah while the end of it was in Egypt. When it arrived at 'Umar, he was open-handed toward the people and gave a camel load and what accompanied it to the people of every house in al-Madinah in what each house required by way of food. He sent 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf, al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam and Sa 'd ibn Abi Waqqas to divide it among the people. They gave a caravan to the people of every house of what was required by way of food, and required that they eat the food and slaughter the camel. They ate its meat, took additional food from its tallow and made its hide as footwear and utilized the containers, in which the food was brought, for what they needed by way of cover. And God was generous in that way toward the people. When 'Umar saw that, he praised God and wrote to 'Amr ibn al- 'As that he come with a group from the people of Egypt, and they came. 'Umar said, "Oh 'Amr, God has conquered Egypt for the Muslims and it

is abundant in good things and food. He had mercy on the people of the two holy places [Makkah and al-Madinah] and generosity toward them. God conquered Egypt for them and made it a power for them and for the Muslims to dig a canal from its Nile so that it flows into the sea. This is the easiest way to carry food to al-Madinah and Makkah. Transport on the back was far-fetched and we will not obtain what we wanted by that route. You and your companions go back and consult with each other on that until you all agree on a settlement." 'Amr hurried and told whoever was with him from the people of Egypt about that. And that was a burden over them and they said, "We are frightened that harm would enter Egypt because of that plan, and we think that you will make that seem too great for the Commander of the Faithful and you will say to him that this is a concern. It can not be arranged and will not be, and we will not find a way for it." 'Amr returned to 'Umar with the response of the Egyptians. 'Umar laughed when he saw him. He said, "By Him in whose hand I am, it is as if I watched you and your companions, oh 'Amr, when you told them of what we ordered of the digging of the canal and the burden of that on them. They said harm would enter Egypt through this plan, so please make it appear too great to the Commander of the Faithful [**p.163**]. And they said that this matter can not be arranged and will not be, and they will not find a way for it." 'Amr was surprised at the speech of 'Umar and he said, "You were right by God, oh Commander of the Faithful, the matter is as you have described." And 'Umar said to him, "Go ahead, oh 'Amr, with a determination from me so that you know that I am serious about completing it, and the power will not come for you until you finish it, God willing. You must have it carried out by the end of the year." 'Amr left and collected as many workers as he could. Then he dug the canal that was on the border of al-Fustat, which is called the Canal of the Commander of the Faithful. And he led it

from the Nile to Qulzum. And the year did not end until the ships entered. The ships in the canal carried what he wanted by way of food to al-Madinah and Makkah; God made that useful for the people of the two holy places, and it was named the Canal of the Commander of the Faithful. Then food continued to be carried through the canal until it was carried after 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz. Then managers and governors destroyed it after that and it was left alone, allowing the sand to overcame it and silt it up. Its end began at the tail of the Timsah in the region of the lowest part of Talha Qulzum.

He said and it is said that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab said to 'Amr ibn al- 'As, when he arrived to him, as related by my brother, 'Abd al-Hakam ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam... to Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman, "I reckon on the authority of 'Arwah, oh 'Amr, that the Arabs have seen me as a bad omen and they were about to perish in my presence.[349] You know what has been afflicted on them and there is no army better than yours that could save the people of the Hijaz. If you are able to employ a clever way to help, do it." And 'Amr said, "Whatever you want, oh Commander of the Faithful. You have known that ships have come to us in the canal in order to trade with the people of Egypt before Islam. And when we conquered Egypt, that canal was cut off and stopped up and the merchants had abandoned it. If you wanted that we dig it and send ships that carry food to the Hijaz, we will do it." 'Umar said to him, "Yes, do it." When 'Amr left, he mentioned that conversation to the Coptic leaders of the people of Egypt and they said to him, "What is the news, may God bring good luck to the commander." 'Amr said, "You must hurry and remove the food of your land and its abundance to the Hijaz" [**p.164**].

They said, "You will ruin this land. If you can, show that that task is burdensome."

And when he bid farewell to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab he said to him, "Oh 'Amr look at that canal and do not forget its construction." And he said to him, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, it has been stopped up and you introduced great expenditure to it". 'Umar said to him, "By Him, in whose hand I am, I think that when you left and you told that to the people of your land, they thought it too much and disliked that idea. I urge you to dig and put ships in the canal." And 'Amr said, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, when the inhabitants of the Hijaz find the food of Egypt and its abundance of produce with the health of the Hijaz, they will be lazy and refuse to fight." 'Umar said, "Indeed, I will order nothing be carried in this sea except the necessities of the inhabitants of al-Madinah and Makkah." So 'Amr dug the canal, concerned himself with it and sent the ships in it.

He said it is said, as related by 'Abd Allah ibn Salih... to the father of Zayd ibn Aslam that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab wrote to him: "To al- 'As ibn al- 'As.[350] By my life, you do not care if you and whoever is with you becomes fat and I and whoever is before me becomes emaciated, oh help me! Then, oh help me!" And 'Amr ibn al- 'As wrote to him: "Oh I am at your service, then oh I am at your service. I bring you a caravan, the first of it is at your place and the last of it is at mine. However, I hope to find a way to carry the supplies to you by sea." Then 'Amr repented for his letter concerning transport to al-Madinah by sea. And he thought that if he made it possible for 'Umar, he would destroy Egypt and remove it to al-Madinah. And he wrote to him: "I have looked into the matter of the sea. It is difficult; it will not be repaired and it is not possible." 'Umar wrote to him: "To al- 'As ibn al- 'As, your letter has reached me and you make excuses for what you have written to me concerning the sea. By God, you will do it or I will pull you out by your ear or send someone else to do that." And 'Amr knew the sincerity of

'Umar ibn al-Khattab so he dug the canal. 'Umar ordered that he not leave anything in Egypt by way of its food, clothing, onions, lentils and vinegar without sending a share of it to them.

He said and it is said rather a man from the Copts of Egypt directed 'Amr ibn al- 'As to the canal. My father, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam... to the father of Ibn Abi Najih said that [**p.165**] a man came to 'Amr ibn al- 'As from the Copts of Egypt and he said, "If I pointed out the place in which the ships move until they reach Makkah and al-Madinah, will you wave the *jizyah* on me and on the people of my house."[351] 'Amr said, "Yes." And he wrote to 'Umar and told him and 'Umar wrote to him: "Do it." And when the ships arrived to al-Jar, 'Umar went out performing the *Hajj* or the *Mu 'tamar* [one who goes on a lesser Hajj]. And he said to the people, "Lets go look at the ships that God sent us with supplies from the land of the pharaohs." A man from the Banu Damrah said, "He assigned me to go with him and with seven individuals. The night sheltered us at the tents of the Arabs, and there was an earthenware pot covering the fire. 'Umar said, 'Is there any food?' And they said, 'No, only the meat of a gazelle which we obtained yesterday.' They brought it to him and he ate from it while he was wearing the garments of pilgrimage." Asad ibn Musa.... to 'Amr ibn Sa 'd al-Jarri who said that 'Umar came to al-Jar.[352] Then he asked for kerchiefs and said, "Wash from the water of the sea; the water is blessed. Someone other than Asad said that when the ships arrived at al-Jar with food in them, 'Umar determined who got what food and how much by establishing contracts. However, the merchants sold the contracts between themselves before they seized the food. Abu 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam.... to 'Arwah ibn al-Zubayr said that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab met al- 'Ala' ibn al-Aswad and 'Ala' ibn al-Aswad said, "How much does Hakim ibn Hizam earn?"[353] He said that he bought

contracts from al-Jar worth 100,000 *dirhams* and he profited from it 100,000 *dirhams*. 'Umar ibn al-Khattab met him and he said, "Oh Hakim how much did you earn?" He told him the likes of the news of al- 'Ala`. And 'Umar said, "So you sold it before you had it in your possession?" He said, "Yes". 'Umar said, "This sale is not proper, return it." And Hakim said, "I did not know that this was not proper and I am not able to return it." 'Umar said, "You must return it." Hakim said, "By God I am not able to do that; it has already been divided and is gone. However my capital and my earnings are charity." My father, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Hakam.... to Nafi' said that Hakim ibn Hizam bought food that 'Umar decreed for the people.[354] Hakim sold the food before he received it in full, and 'Umar heard that and returned it to Hakim. He said, "Do not sell food which you have bought until you have received it in full." Malik said, "And I have heard that the contracts went out to the people in the time of Marwan ibn al-Hakam from the food of al-Jar. And the people traded the contracts among them before they received the food in full" [**p.166**].

Zayd ibn Thabit and a man from the companions of the Messenger of God entered on Marwan and they said to him, "Will you permit the sale and accumulation of interest, oh Marwan?" And he said, "I take refuge from God, what's going on?" They said, "The people bought these contracts, but they bought them before they had the food in full share." Marwan sent the guards to inspect them and remove them from the hands of the people. Then he returned the food to their owners.

Asad ibn Musa.... to Abu Firas said that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab gave a speech to the people and praised God and extolled Him.[355] Then he said, "Oh people a time has come to me and I think whoever reads the Qur`an reads with the intention to please God. I came to believe later that some people had read it, wanting thereby, the worldly things

and wanting to please people. I want all your actions and your recitations directed to God. When the Messenger of God was living among us he would receive revelations that disclosed your actions, but the revelation was cut off when the Prophet died. We know by what we are saying to you right now that if someone does something good, we think well of him and we love him for it. However, whoever we see evil from, we think badly of him. And we have a dislike for him because of it. Your secrets are your own. I only send my agents to teach you your religion and to teach you your traditions. I will not send them to harass you nor to take your wealth; whoever is subjected to such abuse let him refer it to me. And by Him who has the soul of 'Umar in his hand, I will take revenge from whoever does it." And 'Amr ibn al- 'As rose and said, "Do you think, oh Commander of the Faithful, that if one of your agents chastises a man from his people, you will retaliate for it?" 'Umar said, "Yes by Him who has the soul of 'Umar in his hand, I would retaliate for him. I have seen the Messenger of God allow retaliation upon himself. Do not hit the Muslims because you will lower them and do not forbid them their rights for you will be ungrateful to them. Also, do not treat them harshly that you will lead them to quarreling, and do not settle them into the greenery for you will ruin them."[356] And a man from the inhabitants of Egypt came, as we were told on the authority of Abu 'Abdah on the authority of Thabit al-Bunani and Humayd on the authority of Anas, to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and said, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, I seek protection from you from tyranny." 'Umar said, "You have sought a place of refuge." The man said, "I raced Ibn 'Amr ibn al- 'As and I won, so he began beating me with the whip saying, 'I am the son of the two high born ones.'" And 'Umar wrote to 'Amr [**p.167**] ordering him to come with his son. He arrived and 'Umar said, "Where is the Egyptian; take the whip and strike." And the Egyptian began beating Ibn 'Amr with

the whip and 'Umar said, "Beat the son of the two ignoble ones." Anas said, "And he struck and by God he had beaten him. We approved of his beating and he did not stop until we pleaded that he stop." Then 'Umar said to the Egyptian, "Beat 'Amr.[357]" And the Egyptian said, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, but his son is the one who beat me and I have healed from it." And 'Umar said to 'Amr, "How long have you enslaved the people while their mothers have born them as free?" 'Amr said, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, I did not know; he did not come to me."

'Abd Allah ibn Salih.... to Nafi', *mawla* to Ibn 'Umar, said that Sabigh al- 'Iraqi from the troops of the Muslims began asking about things from the Qur'an until he arrived in Egypt.[358] 'Amr ibn al- 'As sent him to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. When the messenger brought 'Umar the letter and he read it, he said, "Where is the man?" He said, "In the caravan." 'Umar said, "Go and look for him." And 'Umar said, "If he goes you will receive a painful punishment," and he brought him to 'Umar. 'Umar said to him, "What were you asking?" He told him, and 'Umar sent for wet palm branches stripped of their leaves and beat him with them until his back and buttocks were bloody. Then he left him until he recovered. Then he returned to him and left him until he recovered. Then he summoned him to return to him. And Sabigh said, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, if you want to kill me, kill me gloriously, but if you want to cure me, by God I am repentant." 'Umar permitted him to go to his land, but he wrote to Abu Musa al-Ash 'ari that he not let anyone of the Muslims sit with him and that became hard on the man socially. Abu Musa al-Ash 'ari wrote to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and told him that he had improved. 'Umar wrote to him and told him to permit the people to mix with him again. Asad ibn Musa.... to the grandfather of 'Amr ibn Shu 'ayb said that 'Amr ibn al- 'As wrote to 'Umar ibn al-Khattab asking him about a man who submits then

disbelieves then submits, then disbelieves until he did that several times: "Is Islam to be accepted from him?"[359] And 'Umar wrote to him to accept it from him: "Set forth Islam to him, if he accepts, leave him. If he does not accept, strike his neck."[360] [**p.168**].

Asad ibn Musa.... to the grandfather of 'Amr ibn Shu 'ayb said that 'Amr ibn al- 'As wrote to Umar ibn al-Khattab asking him about a slave who found a buried jar of gold.[361] 'Umar wrote to him: "Give him some of it, for it is more appropriate that they give back the treasure that they found in return for the reward of a portion of the wealth" [**p.169**].

THE ANALYSIS OF THE *FUTUH MISR*

III. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The text on the conquest of Egypt in the *Futuh Misr* was divided into several major topics by the author; however, there are frequent topic overlaps and repetitions from one section to another. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam started the conquest portion of his text with a discussion of the letters sent to the kings of the ancient Near East by Muhammad. In this section he also discussed the life and prestige of the Coptic slave, Marya, who was a gift to the Prophet from the pre-conquest leader of Egypt and became the mother of the Prophet's son. He then backtracked to the reason that 'Amr ibn al- 'As wanted to go to Egypt in the first place. The largest sections were devoted to the actual conquest and resulting treaties and to the development of the various *khitat* and other properties, such as the Mosque of 'Amr, by the Muslim conquerors.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam divided his discussion of the conquest into two parts: the actual conquest and a discussion on whether Egypt was conquered by force or by treaty. In the discussion of the nature of the conquest he attached a section devoted entirely to the subject of the payment of the *jizyah* , even though he also discussed it at some length in the conquest section. In the property section he included property in general and property in specific locations, such as the land around the congregational mosque or the properties of Alexandria and al-Gizah. Toward the end of this portion of his history he included several incidents which related directly to the history of Egypt and the situation of the early Muslims. These include the argument between Caliph 'Umar I (634-644) and 'Amr ibn al- 'As about the amount of tax to be collected, the Nile and its canal, and the drought in the Hijaz. Beyond reflecting the Egyptian point of view and the effect of these events on the history of the Muslims in Egypt specifically, these topics do not really relate to one another.

Several themes stand out in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work. Foremost among these is religion. Not only did religion play a dominant role in the unfolding events of the conquest, but it provided a foundation of justification upon which the events of the conquest rested. In Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's view it was simply the destiny of the followers of Islam to conquer and govern Egypt. Another major theme is his nostalgia for the simple life and moral character of the Bedouin Arabs and the early Muslims. He emphasized their upright character, their lifestyle, and their piety in contrast to the extravagance and decadence of the Byzantine leaders. The ideals of the Bedouin way of life had not entirely disappeared even by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's day in the ninth century. Indeed, they received new life in an Arab response to the *Shu 'ubiyah* movement of the *mawali* and *dhimmis* of the empire.[1]

Some members of the *Shu 'ubiyah* movement desired political change. One theory as to why the *Shu 'ubiyah* occurred was that there was a backlash against Arab superiority and arrogance, and that the movement was non-Arabs versus Arabs. Other theories as to the goal of the *Shu 'ubiyah* ranges from simple petty bickering over trivial day-to-day aspects of life to Gibb's theory that it was a struggle to determine the destiny of Islamic culture as a whole. Montgomery Watt defines it in many ways as a struggle for power or influence between various classes, such as the old Sassanian-styled secretary class and the old Muslim elite of conquerors and their descendants (Gibb, 1962, 62; Watt, 1968, 79). Whatever the goals, for the most part the *Shu 'ubiyah* took the form of an intellectual and literary movement. During the late Umayyad and early 'Abbasid periods the study of Arabic grammar developed to deal with the corruption in the readings of the Qur`an due to scholars of mixed Arab and *'ajami* (non-Arab) blood or pure *'ajami* blood, or due to the prevalence of spurious *hadiths*. The scholars of this period hoped to study the language as it had been in the Prophet's time in order to discover the true *hadiths* and the true recitation of the Qur`an. In the search for pure Arabic, scholars of *hadiths* considered the study of

pre-Islamic poetry necessary. Such studies brought about a nostalgia for the desert life and a pride in the Arab and Bedouin past. This led to a feeling of aristocratic pride and superiority on the part of the Arabs in reaction to their loss of prestige in the empire (Nicholson, 1988, 279-80).

The *mawali* and *dhimmi*s of the empire reacted against this Arab pride. The *mawali* had been growing in numbers and prestige and did not appreciate the arrogance of the Arabs nor their pride in genealogy and their past. The *Shu 'ubiyah* has its name from *Shu 'ub*, which is translated as "people." However, *Shu 'ubi*s were people who traced their identity through territorial principles such as a city or village rather than a tribe, thus declaring that they were a "people" with a distinct ancestry like the Arabs (Nicholson, 1988, 165-69).

Shu 'ubiyah literature was not an attack on Islam, but was often an attack on the Arabs and their pre-Islamic past. Those involved in the *Shu 'ubiyah* movement used the genealogical studies of the Arab tribes and the pre-Islamic poetry that was being revitalized. The *Shu 'ubi*s emphasized the demerits of the Arabs and the merits of the non-Arabs and thus made good use of the propaganda used by one tribe against another in the Bedouin poetry. The *Shu 'ubiyah* movement found its greatest support among the Persians but was certainly not confined to the east, for there were books and essays in praise of the Nabateans, Daylamites and Copts to name a few.

In Egypt the rivalry between the northern (Qaysi) and the southern (Yemeni) Arab tribes found an expression in the *Shu 'ubiyah* movement. The Yemeni Arabs of Egypt promoted *Shu 'ubi* sentiments by siding with the Copts of al-Fustat. The Yemenis took this stance to strengthen their history because of their rivalry with the northern or Qaysi Arabs. This alliance had literary manifestations among the Yemeni Arabs and the Copts. The Yemenis, for example, claimed that their Himyari ancestors and the ancient Egyptians had been brothers. They connected Yemen's past to Egypt again when they stated that the depository of much of the wisdom of the ancient biblical-period sage, Hermes Trismegistes

of Egypt, was in Yemen. When the Copts failed to gain liberty and recognition through revolts, they turned to the pen (Norris, 1990, 32-8).

Ironically, most of the *Shu 'ubiyah* literature was written in the Arabic language, for example that of Bashshar ibn Burd (d. 783), one of the most famous advocates of the *Shu 'ubiyah* cause. He was known to be highly skilled in the use of the Arabic literary language (Watt, 1974, 111, 143). During the mid-ninth century the 'Abbasid era was dominated by the literature of the non-Arabs; thus many Arabs felt the need to reassert themselves in the arts and in society in order to raise their intellectual status. In fact, it was not simply a matter of Arab versus non-Arab. There were many non-Arabs who defended and wrote apologies for the Arab dynasties and other history. There were also Arabs against the idea of superiority for one race. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam fell under the first category and is just one example of the views shared by Arab apologists.

Most of the writers who defended the Arab cause kept to the desert themes of the ancient bards, for example Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. However, al-Jahiz (d. 869) preferred to expand the subjects of Arab literature and chose topics which related more to his time and his setting: the urban Muslim environment. Al-Jahiz was a writer of theology and politics and of *adab*, or belles lettres. He was born to a *mawali* family of the Banu Kinanah who were related to the Quraysh.[2] His grandfather was of African descent, yet he took up the Arab cause against the *Shu 'ubis* (Pellat, 1990, 78, 87). Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam was of the school that continued looking back to the desert way of life, although both al-Jahiz and his predecessors sought in different ways to heighten the Arab character and standing in the Muslim world through history writing and other literature (Gibb, 1962, 71).

Another major aspect of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history was his emphasis on Egypt and its attributes. This emphasis can be seen in his history in a variety of ways. He praised the land and physical attributes as well as the historical figures of Islam who happened to settle in Egypt. His goal was not only to place Egypt on the map of the Islamic world of his own

day, but to exalt Islamic Egypt's noble past under its Arab conquerors. The period of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's lifetime was one of turmoil. The turmoil had political, economic, religious and racial roots. Although Egypt had been uninvolved in 'Abbasid politics due to its distance from the capital, it was anything but tranquil and hardly blindly obedient to the 'Abbasid government in Baghdad and Samarra.

The major causes of discontent were Egypt's financial policies and the conduct of its governors concerning these policies. Egypt's economic hardship started almost immediately after the Arab conquest in 641. The second governor after the conquest, 'Abd Allah ibn Sa 'd, who was appointed in 644, taxed the people heavily and managed to raise a revenue of fourteen million *dinars*. This led Caliph 'Uthman (644-656) to exclaim to 'Amr, who had been recalled by the caliph in favor of 'Abd Allah, "It [Egypt] gave more than its first flow." 'Amr replied, " You injure its child." Here 'Amr was implying that to tax the Egyptian population too heavily would drain its resources too quickly (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 161).

From that moment on, Egypt's governors were not content to settle for a meager revenue collection. Some charged taxes and extortionate rates other than those permitted legally, such as various duties on trades and markets (Lane-Poole, 1977, 25). The Arabs were also losing the economic privileges that they had enjoyed earlier as the conquering race. From the mid-Umayyad period to the early 'Abbasid period there was an increased uniformity and rigidity in fiscal administration along with corruption and greed, which caused numerous rebellions in provinces like Egypt. At first the 'Abbasids rewarded the rebels who had helped them gain the caliphate with lighter tax sentences. These benefits lasted only for a short while. Loss of economic privilege led to rebellions and disturbances by those who felt betrayed or left out.

In the Umayyad and early 'Abbasid periods *dhimmis* started many rebellions due to the persecution they suffered at the hands of Arab governors. One such oppressive governor

was 'Ubayd Allah ibn al-Habhab, appointed in approximately 720. On the order of Caliph Yazid II (720-724), he carried out a general destruction of the sacred pictures of the Christians. This type of persecution led to an uprising of the Copts in the area of the Hawf in the Delta (Lane-Poole, 1977, 27). Rebellions initiated by Arab settlers were at first protests against oppressive and unfair taxes; later these motives mingled with political ones. One example was the Arabs settled in the Hawf of the Delta of Egypt who had been imported by 'Ubayd Allah to increase the Muslim population there. At first they only paid a tithe, but later they were subjected to the regular taxes.[3] It is not clear when they switched from tithe to tax, but in later papyri records there is no difference in the amounts paid by the Arabs and by the Copts. There was also supposedly a graded tax based on a three-tier system between rich and poor. Again, the registers do not really reflect this gradation. Additionally, some privileged Arabs managed to maintain lower rates throughout the turbulent early period, encouraging further anger and rebellion by both Copts and unprivileged Arabs (Morimoto, 1981, 149-58, 163-79).

The real institutionalization and stabilization of the tax system came with the reforms of Ibn al-Mudabbir, the director of finance in Baghdad under Caliph Harun al-Rashid (786-809). The reformed Islamic tax system was based on twin pillars: land tax (*kharaj*) and poll tax (*jizyah*).[4] The *kharaj* was based on a territorial principle and the *jizyah* on religious affiliation. A brief summary of the system is as follows. If non-Muslims occupied land they paid *kharaj*. Converts to Islam were exempt from the *jizyah* and were able to keep their land in exchange for paying *kharaj*. The possessors of land deemed "conquered," regardless of race or religion and including Arab Muslims who had previously paid only a minimal tithe, were obliged to pay the necessary taxes on this land. These policies led to a series of rebellions in the provinces from Arabs and non-Arabs alike. The Arabs resented the loss of special tax and economic privileges that seemed to coincide with the loss of political prestige. The Arabs and Copts in Egypt rebelled against the corruption and chaos

that occurred in the system during times of turmoil. During the period of the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma`mun, for example, continuous civil disruptions occurred due to the division of Egypt between the factions. Each faction tried to collect the taxes for itself. Harun al-Rashid also ended the two-fold system of land tax in kind and in cash. Instead, the tax was paid only in cash because of the instability of grain prices. The *kharaj* was reformed as well, based on the types of crops and their potential yields rather than on acreage. Also, Ibn al-Mudabbir increased tax collection by taxing additional items such as natron and adding a weir tax and pasture tax which displeased nomadic Arabs (Morimoto, 1981, 191-93, 257-60).

In contrast to this unfair increase in taxation of the Egyptians and their rebellion against unfair taxes, the wealth obtained by the Egyptian governors and other officials stands out vividly. The prosperity of Egypt's land fed the greed of the governors, leading to their corruption and mistreatment of the population and thus eventually to the rebellions mentioned above. The Umayyad period provides a perfect example. At the beginning of the eighth century the district officials of Egypt reported that their treasuries were so full that they could not hold any more. The caliph ordered the excess to be spent on building mosques. One mosque that was restored was the Mosque of 'Amr. Under the 'Abbasids the wealth of the governors was visible, as demonstrated by the palace called the Kubbat al-Hawa` (Dome of Air) that was built away from the city on the Muqattam hills so that the governors could enjoy the cool breezes (Lane-Poole, 1977, 25-26, 31).

Another contributing factor to the turmoil in Egypt at this time was the ethnicity of the ruling class and their treatment of the population. During the Umayyad and early 'Abbasid periods the governors of Egypt and the rest of the empire as well were all relations of the caliph or from other prominent Arab families. The 'Abbasids started to use loyal supporters rather than family members out of fear of a usurpation of power by the family member in the province. One such example is al-Fadl, an 'Abbasid sent by the caliph in

785 to quell revolts by the Arab tribes in Egypt, who succeeded in bringing Egypt back to a loyal position toward the central government but then became so arrogant that he had to be removed by Harun al-Rashid (Lane-Poole, 1977, 34). The last governor of Arab stock in Egypt was Anbasa (852-856), who ruled with a firm but fair hand and showed his subjects respect and good will. Nonetheless, he was recalled by the caliph and replaced by a Turkish governor. From that time until the semi-autonomous rule of the Turkish Tulunids, Egypt was governed by Turkish officials, who were already making their way up the ranks of the government and army in Baghdad.

The rule of the Turkish governors threw the country into chaos once more. Historically, the Turks are generally seen as usurpers of caliphal power, and in the medieval period they elicited horror from the local population. In Egypt the Turkish governors disliked the Arabs and favored the Copts over the Arabs in that province. They restored much of the confiscated land and possessions to the Copts and permitted many churches to be rebuilt. Indeed, the conversion of Copts to Islam and the Islamization of Egypt were slow. The immigration of Arabs occurred during the Umayyad period when the caliphs began replacing native administrators at the local level with Arab ones and with the importation of Arab tribes to bolster the Muslim population in Egypt. Nevertheless, Coptic administrators continued to serve well into the seventh century and long afterward. The importation of Arab tribes by the Umayyads indicates that despite the presence in Egypt of a large number of Arab tribes before the Muslim conquest, the Islamization and Arabization was slow to gain momentum. However, the later change in economic policy of requiring all citizens to pay a land tax despite their religious affiliation indicates conversion and loss of revenue since the converted *dhimmi* was freed from all taxes. Although, one must keep in mind that another motive for this change in policy was the status of the land, whether is was conquered by force or by treaty and thus how much money it could bring to the state. Evidence of possible conversion is the amount of taxes collected between the

seventh and eighth centuries. The taxes amounted to between ten and fifteen million dinars. From the end of the eighth century to the tenth century the amount of taxes fell to just over three million dinars. The loss of revenue was partly due to conversion and/or intermarriage of Copts with Arab men, which normally produced Muslim offspring and led to an Arabization and Islamization of much of the populace (Frantz-Murphy, 1991, 15-16; Kennedy, 1986, 309-10; Watterson, 1988, 154)..

In this manner, many Copts became Arabized in custom and language, but maintained their religion for several centuries after the conquest. However, by the tenth century so many Copts had converted that Christianity had ceased to be the dominant religion of most Egyptians. A number of frivolous rules exasperated the people, particularly the Arab population. Yazid, a governor appointed in 856, had an aversion to eunuchs and had them flogged and run out of town. He also took a dislike to the women's wailing at funerals and to horse-racing. A Turk stood with a whip amidst the congregations in the mosques and whipped those who stepped out of place from the orderly rows of worshippers. The Turkish governors followed the usual pattern of squeezing taxes from the Egyptians, and invented new ones. This, of course, led to more rebellions which were often put down in a bloody fashion (Lane-Poole, 1977, 42-43; Haarmann, 1988, 179).

The economic depravations against the general populace, but particularly against the Arabs, who for centuries had grown accustomed to and expected preferential treatment, became a cause for concern regarding the future of their position. Upstart Turks in Baghdad further threatened the Arabs' position, and in 856 this threat spread to the western half of the empire, starting with Egypt. The *Shu 'ubiyah* movement was an additional threat to Arab dominance and prestige. However, this threat came not from a tangible source, such as greater taxes, but was a detriment to the intellectual status of the Arabs and to their image in the history of the Islamic empire.

Given this situation in the Muslim world in general and in Egypt in particular, as a pure Arab of notable standing Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam must have found it necessary to challenge these changes and to challenge the image of Egypt as an inconsequential province. In addition, his desire as an Arab notable for recognition of Egypt's place in Muslim history and in the intellecutual and religious field of the Islamic world must have been pressing and frustrating. Although by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's day Egypt's learning centers were beginning to gain popularity and prestige with travelers from other lands, this process had been slow. A tradition of purely Egyptian *muhaddiths* who were universally recognized for their learning developed more slowly than in other lands. The schools of law, although flourishing in Egypt, were not native to Egypt itself. They developed in the core provinces of the Islamic world and were transplanted to Egypt later. Egypt would have to wait unitl the Fatimid period to develop a religious doctrine of its own, and in this case it was a Shi 'i doctrine. Indeed, in his emphasis on the destiny and greatness of the Islamic religion, his nostalgia for the "Arab" or Bedouin past, and his focus on the glories of Egypt itself, one can see his desire to bring Egypt to the forefront of the Muslim world. It is also possible that he sought to remind those in power of their ancestors and to contrast the pious, egalitarian-minded conquerors with the new luxury, magnificence, and corruption of the rulers of his day. The following analysis of the text is an attempt to show how these aspects influenced Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history and formed the motives for the subjects and topics he chose to record.

IV. THE THEME OF RELIGION

In the first portion of my analysis I will review how religion played a major role in the way Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam described the course of historical events. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Islam was the most correct religion, was destined to exist and to be the last and final religion. One device the author used to convey this was the constant comparison of the vitality and frugality of the Muslim invaders as against the perverse corruption and laziness of the Byzantines.

Destiny and Frugality

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam chose to begin his narrative on the conquest of Egypt with a discussion of the letters that Muhammad purportedly wrote to the leaders of the Near East, Byzantium and Ethiopia. He identified the leader of Egypt as al-Muqawqas. Many scholars dispute the existence of these letters and believe that they were fabricated later after the great Islamic victories to show the destiny set for the Muslim people and their rulers.

Wellhausen, Caetani, M. Watt and C.H. Becker are just a few of the skeptical scholars. They are all prominent contributors to the studies of the early Muslim history. Muhammad Hamidullah, a Pakistani scholar, wrote a dissertation in the 1950s that examined early documents, including the letters sent by Muhammad, of the Prophet's time and of the time of the Rashidun caliphs. Since then he has written several articles on the subject and devoted an entire book to proving that the six letters sent to the various kings were not just legendary, but genuine to history (Hamidullah, 1985).[1] The earliest letter was sent to an Arab governor of Bahrain, Mundhir, who had followed Muhammad into Islam and was under the jurisdiction of the Persians. Of the six letters, five asked the receiver to consider conversion or submission to Islam. The proselytizing nature of these letters is one reason for the skepticism of scholars, such as Caetani who reminded us of the moderate nature of

Muhammad and the fact that the Qur`an does not mention any type of world mission for the Prophet. Hamidullah countered Caetani with the argument that the reason for the letters was to establish relations with these rulers, not really to convert them. Given the time period, year six of the *hijrah*, right after the Hudaybiyah pact and the still shaky alliance with hostile Bedouin tribes, he suggested that it was natural for Muhammad to want to seek alliances with others (Hamidullah, 1985, 78, 86; Dunlop, 1940, 59).[2]

As for Hamidullah's argument against the view that the letters were invented later to show the destiny of the Muslim people, he said that the ʻAbbasids had no need to invent letters to raise their status and glorify the Prophet because they had already won and achieved dazzling victories against the old kingdoms of the Near East. Hamidullah claimed that the texts of the copies of the letters we possess are in accordance with the texts of the documents of the classical histories. Opponents claimed the content of the letters were different than those recorded by medieval historians. Hamidullah used the fact that medieval authors record them as evidence of their early existence (Hamidullah, 1985, 99; Dunlop, 1940, 59). For our purposes, the existing text of the Egyptian letter is the same as the one recorded by Ibn ʻAbd al-Hakam.

Another aspect to consider when determining whether these letters were really ever written by Muhammad is to look at the documents now available for study to determine if their date could be as old as the seventh century CE. Hamidullah reminded us that only the Prophet's letter to Heraclius has had a thorough technical examination. The rest of the letters believed to be His have not been examined in such a way. In the 1970s experts examined the tanning process and the ink among other things, and determined the Heraclius letter to be an authentic document of the Prophet's era (Hamidullah, 1985, 172-73).

With respect to the letter to al-Muqawqas, Hamidullah responded to opponents' accusations that the document found in 1852 was a forgery. One of the first to examine the document was the German orientalist Noeldeke in the 1850s. He espoused the

genuineness of the document at that time, and again in the 1890s. In 1909, the historian Schwally wrote a treatise against the document's authenticity and claimed that Noeldeke had revoked his support. Hamidullah claimed that this view was Schwally's and not Noeldeke's and that the comments made by Schwally were unfounded as he had not even personally examined the document. One example of the skepticism of Schwally was his view on the writing style. Schwally claimed the writing of Muhammad's period was probably not as Kufic as the one on the document which was claimed to be a letter of the Prophet. Hamidullah said that there was evidence of this style around the Prophet's time and shortly after in inscriptions and in "thousands" of papyri from Muslim Egypt. At other times Hamidullah criticized Schwally's logic, one example being the signatures of the letters. Schwally said a letter or official correspondence of this period should have the name of the author and carrier which were missing from the document in question. Hamidullah argued that Schwally based his assumptions on procedures of the established Byzantine and Persian courts and that it was not a reflection of the early Muslim community and its procedures under the guidance of the Prophet (Hamidullah, 1985, 100-103).

Other authors who denied the authenticity of the copies of the letters generally had not examined them personally or did not give any arguments for their denials. Hamidullah stated this as well as the fact that only the Heraclius letter had been examined technically. Hamidullah's book reiterates the arguments of his dissertation, and is one of the most recent that deals with the topic of the letters. In the conclusion to his book written in 1985 Hamidullah said that given the evidence of medieval sources and the physical evidence of the existing documents, he could not positively affirm the authenticity of the texts. However, he believed there was a greater chance of their being genuine articles than forgeries from a later time, and that the arguments against these documents and against the idea of their ever having been written is based on sentiment rather than scientific reasoning (Hamidullah, 1985, 103-4, 214). Hamidullah's criticism of other historians' lack of

interest and his own inability to claim the authenticity of the letters with certainty indicates to me that in the past historians have felt this was a dead issue and have not bothered to research the textual and physical evidence any further.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's use of these letters in his history was designed to show that Islam had always been destined for greatness, and he portrayed that destiny with numerous examples. This does not mean that he fabricated the letter to al-Muqawqas, but that he believed they were genuine; as such, they were useful to him when writing his history of Egypt.

This brings us to the question one may ask as to whether one can accept the anecdotes and facts as put forward by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, or other medieval Islamic writers for that matter. The discussion of the validity of the *hadith*s and the problem of literary topoi in medieval literature will be discussed in the last section of this analysis after the discussion of his themes and goals. Here it is only necessary to say that although some of the anecdotes and facts presented by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam may be in question as to their authenticity, his history and his ideas are definitely of use to use in the modern age. The *hadith*s and their subjects that he selected in order to write his history of Egypt and North Africa give the modern historian an incite into the history writing of his day, and into his goals and the mentality of the ninth-century society as reflected through his choice of evidence. By using the letters, for example, his aim was to give Egypt a sense of its worth in the greater Islamic world history and to show that the Muslims had always been destined to conquer Egypt.

In Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's version of the letter to al-Muqawqas, Muhammad stated that the Egyptians, probably including both Byzantines and Copts, had a religion which they would not abandon except for a better one. That religion, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, was Islam (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 46). The letter contained instructions regarding how to lay aside the old religion and come to the new one. Such forwardness explicitly stated the

goal of conversion and conquest on the part of the Muslims. But the conversion process was slow and even discouraged for economic reasons in the early period after the conquests, especially in Egypt. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used the letter to portray an inevitable destiny of conquest and government over this land. He wanted to show that Egypt was always meant to be Muslim.

In another passage referring to the *jizyah* and how it was to be paid, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam quoted a *hadith* of the Prophet that stated, prior to any of the conquests, that the Muslims would become masters over people who used the *qirat* system of money.[3] The Egyptians used the system of coins known as *qirat* which was a way of showing that the Muslims were destined to conquer Egypt (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 153). Later, when the Byzantines and Egyptians were faced with the choice to continue the battle with the Muslims or to yield to them, the Muslims gave them three alternatives on the orders of Caliph 'Umar: they could enter into Islam, pay the tribute as non-Muslims, or fight and lose everything and therefore die or become slaves (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 65). One way or the other, the Muslims would rule Egypt.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used anecdotes that put the prophecy of the Muslim victory in the words of the conquered Egyptians themselves to legitimize the Muslim destiny of Egypt. For example, he recited a *hadith* about a visit to Egypt in the *Jahiliyah* period by 'Amr ibn al- 'As who eventually became the conqueror of Egypt.[4] 'Amr was invited to participate with the Byzantine nobles and their leaders in a special game. The idea was to throw the ball, and if it rolled into the sleeve of a participant and remained there, he would not die before becoming king. The ball naturally found its way to 'Amr's sleeve, but the Byzantines reacted with disbelief, "This ball has never lied except this time. I do not think this Bedouin will rule us. This will never be" (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 55). Later, when faced with the challenge of Muslim forces, al-Muqawqas stated, "I believe them to be so powerful that they will conquer the whole earth" (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 67).[5] Ibn

'Abd al-Hakam used these statements to convey his belief that the Muslims were destined to rule the known world and neither the Byzantine forces nor anyone else could stop them.

Another aspect of the greatness of Islam was the character of the Muslims which Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam contrasted to the Byzantines. Despite their lack of numbers and material objects needed to fight and to succeed, the Muslims would achieve victory because of their faith and their piety. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam depicted God as favoring the Muslims and therefore they could do nothing but win. In one story a young man was herding sheep near the Muslim encampment and his companion asked the herder if he was not surprised about the appearance and small number of the Muslims. The herder replied that lack of troops would not stop them (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 59). Again, Byzantine words prophesied the conquest of Egypt. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam frequently stated that the Muslims were glad to die in battle. The Byzantine messengers sent to 'Amr ibn al 'As described them in such a way, "We saw them as a people to whom death is more dear to them than life and humbleness is more dear than nobility. Each of them does not have a desire concerning the world nor any greed." The highest ranked was indistinguishable from the lowest and their means of living and manners were simple and unpretentious (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 65).

The Byzantines recognized that the Muslims were not afraid of death and were confident that God would reward them in the afterlife for their clean living in this world. The Muslims did not care if they had a *qantar* of gold or simply one *dirham*. Whether they had either they would spend it in accordance with God, which meant to give it as charity. The greatest reward any Muslim needed was not on this earth, but in the promise of rewards in paradise given to the pious on earth (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 65). This made them invincible in battle because of the promise of paradise to all who fell defending Islam. The fact that the Muslims did not care if they died is one of the most frequently quoted ideas in the text. They believed that their families would be cared for by God and that they would

enter into paradise (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 71). In another of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's passages, the Byzantines admitted that they would not win because they loved life and its luxuries and pleasures too much and were afraid to die. These passages implied that the faithful would win and that the Christians were not as faithful as the Muslims.

The text is full of anecdotes about the lean conditions of the Arabs contrasted with the luxury of the Byzantines. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's account of events, the Arabs were not tempted by wealth. One such story was of an Arab who happened to be praying when he was approached by Byzantine horsemen dressed in the finest military regalia. The Arab interrupted his prayer to chase them away. They dropped their gear and fine clothing hoping to tempt him into stopping to retrieve such fine objects, thus allowing them to escape easily. They were wrong in their reasoning. Even after losing them in the chase the Arab returned and ignored their possessions, piously returning to his prayer (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 62). Another story illustrating the wealth of the Byzantines was related by an old man of Alexandria who was a companion to the son of a Byzantine patrician in the days of the conquest. The patrician's son had clothing of silk brocade, a headband of gold, and a decorated sword, but the Arab who killed him desired nothing of this finery and left him and his horse to rot. The old man said that when he heard that man reciting the Qur`an of the Arabs, he realized they were capable of conquering the entire country and had succeeded so far because of their lack of worldliness and greed that so often corrupts the noblest and most dedicated of peoples (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 75). The fact that the Byzantine remembered the Arab reciting the Qur`an specifically and not just Arabic in general was probably intended to subtly remind the reader of the greatness and truthfulness of the one true religion and its rewards.

A final example of the portrayal of the greatness and truth of Islam was the message that the Muslims were somehow superior to and more pious than believers of all other religions. This was implied in all the other examples, but stated much more directly in

some, and included even the revealed religions of which Islam recognized and claimed descent (Christianity and Judaism). In a description of the Muqattam hills near what is now Cairo, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam explained how the hills came to be a Muslim burial ground. Al-Muqawqas had requested that 'Amr ibn al- 'As sell him the hills for seventy thousand *dinars* and leave him this one area in Egypt. The Arabs were curious and wondered at its value. Al-Muqawqas explained that the plants of paradise grew there. 'Umar was aghast. He said, "Indeed no one should know of the plants of paradise except the believers...," the Muslims. 'Umar apparently investigated this notion and when he determined its veracity he asked 'Amr ibn al- 'As not to sell the hills. At the very least, 'Amr was to divide the land and make it a burial place for the most honored of the fallen Muslims (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 157). Therefore, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, well-known companions of Muhammad were buried there because of the words of a Christian, al-Muqawqas.

Faith of the Individual

A further aspect of the religious focus that I have noticed is Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's specific emphasis on individual Muslims rather than Islam in general. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam identified faith as the key character trait for an individual. Other traits that we as society value today, such as physical appearance, seemed less important in the *Futuh Misr*. He may have criticized other character defects or physical appearance, but he would always point out someone's piety and devotion to God. One can look at this in two ways. By frequently revealing the physical ugliness of some of the greatest Egyptian men of the period or openly discussing their greediness or haughtiness, he conveyed a detached and objective attitude toward his subjects. This can lead one to believe that he was objective and therefore truthful on all matters that he discussed. Some argue that only faith mattered and nothing else. To be truly objective he should have been able to question an

individual's faith but still praise him as a great man. However, he never criticized faith, but only the coveting of material objects and status. Indeed, one of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's goals seemed to be to show the success of Islam in Egypt and the high moral character of its historical figures.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam cared only for the spiritual character of Egyptian historical figures, not their physical and worldly attributes. Examples of offensive physical descriptions of some of the most famous figures in the early history of Islamic Egypt are prevalent in his work. One of the most striking is that of the conqueror himself, 'Amr ibn al- 'As, who is usually portrayed as a hero. 'Amr ibn al 'As was described as being short, having a big head, protruding brow, wide mouth and big hands and feet. The only flattering attributes of 'Amr's physical character to our late twentieth-century tastes are his great beard and broad shoulders (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 58). Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam described others with similar frankness: for example, al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam was white, not tall, sparsely bearded, but very hairy (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 64).[6] Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam had a Coptic man who had witnessed the conquest as a boy describe a heroic Muslim who cared nothing for the rich possessions of his enemy but only for fighting this enemy. In his account he even used the word "ugly" when describing the man's physical appearance (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 75). It seems from these descriptions and from his emphasis on faith that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam believed that only heroic deeds and devotion to Islam were the things that counted when determining a person's character.

This point is elaborated in another physical description about 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit, who had been appointed spokesman during the negotiations with the Byzantines.[7] Al-Muqawqas received him and was frightened because of his dark skin. The ruler asked the other Arabs if they too were not offended. They said, "Not at all; although he is black as you see he is the most excellent of us of us by way of rank and the most excellent of us

by way of seniority, intelligence and thought" (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 66). The dark skin of 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit was no more important to them than the white skin of al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam. This statement says much about the success of the religion of Islam then and now, and is a telling one to people in the modern age faced with racism based on the color of one's skin. These statements recorded by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam indicate that that the Muslims cared only for one's faith.

However, was this really the case during Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's day in the ninth century? The equality of all Muslims is reflected unanimously in the religious literature of the Islamic world and in the Qur'an. In one incident the famous historian al-Zuhri (d. 742) chided Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685-705) for complaining about the dominance of non-Arab Muslims. He said, "Amir al-Mu'minin, this is the religion of God; whoever seeks its knowledge and masters it, would be the leader of Muslims. Whoever neglects the knowledge of religion would be considered dishonored" (Chaudry, 1994, 92). In fact, at the time the Qur'an was revealed, race and bigotry due to one's skin color was not an issue. Ancient peoples, including the Bedouin Arabs, showed a pride in their "own" people and a hostility to outsiders; nevertheless, this hostility was not based on skin color or race but simply on cultural differences. Early use of skin color in reference to different peoples was simply to differentiate them, not to degrade them. The stigma of dark skin had no place in Bedouin values. Perhaps this was because of their admiration for the superior material culture of their neighbors to the southwest in Ethiopia (Lewis, 1990, 20-7). However, once Islam spread, it encountered numerous groups of different people. It met with many "superior" white cultures and many "inferior" black ones and so perhaps the Arabs began to equate developed material culture with light skin color.

The number of slaves in the early period was overwhelming. The mass import of black slaves occurred at this time due to penetrating raids into Africa. Racial specialties among slaves developed during the classical Islamic period, such as Turkish military forces and

black domestics or laborers (Lewis, 1990, 38-46). As more of the conquered peoples converted and mixed with the Arabs, the Arabs lost their footing as the privileged few but tried desperately to maintain this superior image and position. This desire for a position of dominance was reflected in the arts and literature as was the social inequality and stigma of skin color. One example of the stigma attached to dark skin color was a poem by the poet Suhaym (d. 660), a slave of African origin. He wrote, "If my color were pink, women would love me. But the lord has marred me with blackness." "Though I am a slave my soul is nobly free. Though I am black of color my character is white" (Lewis, 1990, 28).

The great satirist al-Jahiz wrote an essay devoted to refuting racial slurs on the character traits of the blacks. He charged that they were not stupid nor lazy and noted that the discrimination against them rose only after Islam. However, his essay was possibly a mockery and reflected the stigma of being black in the 'Abbasid age. His concluding remarks in this essay concerned the *Shu 'ubi*s, who maintained the eloquence of all people. Al-Jahiz asked if that included the Zanj, about whom he had written a scathing article. Though maybe partially sincere, his defense of blacks was possibly a parody of *Shu 'ubiyah* propaganda (Lewis, 1990, 32).

However, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam seemed not too concerned with skin color. His *hadith* concerning al-Muqawqas and 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit was a reflection of the older view. Did the author hold this view? These few passages are his only reference to skin color; thus it would seem that it was unimportant to him. His use of positive *hadith*s about skin color would reinforce that conclusion. However, he was concerned with the Arab role in history and the Arab past versus the non-Arab figures of history. One of his goals through most of the work seems to be to remind his readers of the piety of the Arab conquerors and their devotion to faith as a criteria for judging one's character.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used examples from the life of the Prophet to comment on the materialism of the Byzantines in pre-conquest Egypt, which was most likely a reflection of

the luxurious lifestyle of the rulers of his own day. He recorded a *hadith* which said that the Prophet rode a donkey and was content to eat only dates and bread. This may sound like a description of a pauper or of someone not cultured or prestigious; however, it is precisely this humility in the face of God that was so valued by the Muslims. He further added that Muhammad cared little about the material wealth of those whom he met; he cared only that they be Muslims (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 47).

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam tried to convey that the Muslims were the only ones with faith in God by telling us about the Prophet and the mother of his son Ibrahim. Marya and her sister, around whose name there is great debate, were sent as gifts to Muhammad by al-Muqawqas before the invasion of Egypt. Muhammad did not know which woman to choose, so he asked God for assistance. Suddenly it occurred to him to ask the women to testify to the true faith. Marya did it immediately, but her sister pondered for an hour and then testified. Therefore Muhammad knew that only Marya was suitable, because she had true faith (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 49).

The entire Muslim community loved Ibrahim, but when he died they could not feel overwhelming grief. In the passage of Ibrahim's death, the mourners were sad, but they said that they would have been sadder if no one else would die. However, as everyone in this world died, they could not feel too much remorse, because they knew that Ibrahim was residing in heaven with God and that some day they would all be there if they, too, believed in God (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 51). One of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's goals seems to be to show the existence of God and his protection and favor of the Muslims, the true believers.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam scrutinized the character of several other figures of Egyptian history besides the Prophet, for example 'Amr ibn al 'As. He examined his behavior, actions, and particularly his reactions toward the letter of 'Umar which he received at the border of Egypt on the eve of its conquest. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam offered many versions of the

incident, all of which agreed that 'Umar had stated that if 'Amr was not in Egypt and he received a negative reply to his request to invade Egypt, he must return to Syria. If the reply was positive he could proceed. However, if he was already inside the boundaries of Egypt he could proceed whether the reply was positive or negative. In most of the *hadiths* concerned with this incident 'Amr ibn al- 'As purposely ignored both the letter and its messenger because he knew that he was not in Egyptian territory. He waited to open it until he was sure he and his troops were "safe" on Egyptian soil. He then read the negative reply (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 57). While this was clearly a devious and greedy move, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam framed this tale with praises testifying to 'Amr ibn al- 'As's good character and devotion to the cause of Islam.

Just one anecdote highlighting people's character and behavior is one involving 'Amr ibn al 'As and his companion, Maslamah ibn Mukhallad.[8] In this story a physical description of Maslamah ibn Mukhallad is related through a *hadith* based on the authority of 'Amr himself. Maslamah ibn Mukhallad lost at hand-to-hand combat with a Byzantine soldier, but the Byzantine's companions pulled him back before the death blow. The Muslims were embarrassed by Maslamah's inferior skills and particularly because he did not die while fighting. Because Maslamah was heavy set, 'Amr asked, "Why is it that the man large in the buttocks, which resemble the women's, concerns himself with the business of men and compares himself with them?" Later Maslamah freed several Muslims, including 'Amr ibn al 'As, from captivity at the fortress by risking his own life in a duel with a Byzantine man for their freedom. Maslamah ibn Mukhallad won and 'Amr regretted his earlier comments. He compared his use of such insulting words to atrocities he had committed in the *Jahiliyah* and promised never to do it again (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 77-8).

Finally, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam provided a very good example of the bad moral character of certain Muslims. In the middle of a terrible famine in the Hijaz, merchant ships arrived on

the Hijazi coast from Egypt carrying food and clothing for the drought-stricken Makkans and Madinans. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam related that a number of the Muslims bought up contracts for food which promised specified amounts and sold the contracts without having the actual products in hand. As a result many probably did not receive the rations they paid for and many merchants became rich. This in itself was a terrible act of greed on the part of a few Muslims. The merchants were eventually brought to task and told to return the money and merchandise. If they would not, they were instructed to give future earnings as alms. They repented and complied (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 166). This tale and the others in this section are a very important element in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work. They show the human qualities of the Muslims, not just the extreme piety shown elsewhere in the text, and for our purposes make the author seem more objective because he was able to criticize his heros. However, when one remembers that his message in the history was the faith of Islam then the criticisms become less meaningful in regards to historical objectivity toward facts and events. They illustrate a message that despite some failings, the Muslims were of the true faith and that faith was all that mattered.

The Link to the Judeo-Christian Heritage

The religions of the book also engaged Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's attention. He emphasized Islam's link to them but defended Islam against them as well. These rather conflicting approaches are logical, given the predominance of Christianity during the conquest of Egypt and the numerical superiority of the Copts in Egypt during Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's time.

In the histories of this period and even earlier, an increasing number of references foretold of the coming of the Prophet Muhammad. In the *Futuh Misr* al-Muqawqas himself said that he knew a prophet still existed, but that he thought he would come from Syria.

Many passages in the *Futuh Misr* linked the Muslim history of Egypt to the Judeo-Christian past. For example, before he sent the letters to the kings of the known world Muhammad asked his followers not to refuse his orders to go to these places to deliver the messages as the people of Israel had disagreed with Jesus when he sent disciples to the corners of the earth (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 45). In addition, the Messenger of God said, " Our summoning you to the Qur`an is nothing except like your summoning the people of the Torah to the Gospel" (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 46). A final example of this sort of comparison or reflection on past roots was when 'Umar asked an early Arab settler in Egypt, Abu Hurayrah, to take the position of judge in Egypt, but he refused. 'Umar reminded him that Joseph had worked for the pharaohs. Abu Hurayrah replied that Joseph was the son of a prophet and he was not; as such Joseph was superior to Abu Hurayrah. The implication was obvious. 'Umar was making him feel guilty by comparing his situation to someone the Muslims obviously admired, and who happened to be a Jewish figure. That is the implication in all of these stories, that Islam is forever linked to these other religions. This could also have a political connotation. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam may be showing the dominance of Islam politically, and, by linking it with the other religions, conveying the inevitability of its succeeding the other two.

The other examples of the connection of Islam with its Judeo-Christian past are of an opposite nature. Rather than trying to link Islam to something he admired in the other monotheistic faiths, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam inserted phrases that took on a polemic tone against them in favor of Islam. This polemic was developed before and during Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's day because of the literature written by the non-Arab races about their own ancient pasts and the relative security the non-Muslim subjects felt under the 'Abbasids. Al-Ma`mun allowed discussions on religious matters at court not only between Islamic sects, but between the religions as well. He often enjoyed debating these issues himself.

The early governmental attitude toward the non-Muslims focused on emphasizing the theological differences between Islam and Christianity as well (Khalidi, 1994, 69).

The most famous example of Christian polemic against Islam occurred in the Umayyad period, and originated from John of Damascus (d. *ca.* 748). John was nicknamed "golden-tongued" (Chrysorrhoas) for his proficiency in oratory. He knew Arabic, Greek and Aramaic and was just as proficient in writing as he was in oratorical skills. John had been the boon companion of Caliph Yazid I (680-683) and held the office of financial administrator under the Umayyads. Caliph 'Umar II (717-720) dismissed him from this office, and John decided to retreat and devote himself to quiet contemplation. The work that we are concerned with here is his dialogue between a Muslim and a Christian who argued over the validity of their beliefs (Hitti, 1970, 245-46). Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam related a few stories of this sort. Al-Muqawqas asked the messengers with the Prophet's letter what prevented Muhammad from asking God to punish him and take power over him if Muhammad were really a prophet? In response, the messenger asked what prevented Jesus from getting the same results against those who disobeyed him. When al-Muqawqas questioned the Prophet's support from his own town, Makkah, the Muslim messenger reminded him that Jesus too was banished from his town, but this time on a cross (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 46).

From these examples, one can see Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's focus on religion. He wanted to show its importance and to demonstrate how faith in God could help in battling one's enemies. He also wanted to show the importance of Islam over other religions both theologically and politically. Politically, the Muslims of Egypt were threatened by the *dhimmis* or Copts and the introduction of a new ruling element, the Turkish governors. Also, perhaps Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's emphasis on the Arab character of the conquerors was a reflection of his pride in the Arab versus not only *dhimmis*, but mawali Muslims as well. As the Arabs intermarried or as the *dhimmis* converted a new race of Muslim emerged. It

was in his own day that this new race began its attack on the established elite-the old Arab families. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam continually pointed out the Christians' corruption and implied that their faith was not fulfilling, and that they cared only for worldly goods as opposed to faith in their God. On the other hand, the Muslims were represented as ultimately pious. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used the Muslims' superior character and faith to demonstrate the destiny of Islam. That destiny was to rule Egypt and to "rule" or succeed the other two religions of the book and become the final revelation. The idea of the destiny of Islam is a common theme in stories of the conquests; however, given Egypt's situation it is likely that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam had a more specific goal in mind. Granted, belief in the greatness of Islam was commonplace in the medieval Islamic world. However, his emphasis on the piety of the Arab conquerors of Egypt and God's aid to them as a result of this piety was probably intended to remind the materialistic leaders of his day in Egypt and in the Muslim world in general of their noble, frugal ancestors, and to sound the voice of the Muslim Arab over the rising social and intellectual movements of non-Arabs that occurred because of the security they felt in the 'Abbasid empire.

V. NOSTALGIA FOR THE BEDOUIN WAY OF LIFE

Another aspect of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work reflected a longing for the Arabs' pre-Islamic and early Muslim past. Much of his work showed a nostalgia for the simpler life of the Bedouin and early Arab conquerors who were themselves simple Bedouin. The subjects he chose and the attributes he gave his characters reflected Bedouin values and ideals.

What were these Bedouin ideals? Existing information on pre-Islamic Arabia comes directly from Muslim written sources that took their information from the sources of left by the pre-Islamic Arabs, which defined the pre-Islamic period as a time of ignorance or *Jahiliyah*. This term was used to contrast that era with the era of Islam and thus is the term that I will use. The sources used by the Muslims were things such as official documents, like inscriptions. There are political inscriptions, such as one by the Lakhmi prince 'Imru` al-Qays in 328 which celebrated his achievements. Inscriptions like this often appeared on monuments in Arab areas that were close to the great empires of the Near East, like the Lakhmis in al-Namarah near Sassanian al-'Iraq. The major source, which indicates the history of this period and highlights values important to the people, is the narratives of the battles between the tribes accompanied by tribal genealogies known as the *Ayyam al- 'Arab* or the Battle Day Narratives. The events remembered by the tribes are those of bloodshed. Each such event is termed a *yawm* or day. These memorable events in the tribe's history were named after individuals, places, or the nature of an event. Examples include the Day of 'Ukaz (place), the Day of Basus (person) and the Day of Shaving the Locks (event). Thus, the poetry of the Days of the Arabs was a cycle of blood feuds or blood revenge and counter-revenge (Rosenthal, 1968, 19).

The poetry of the *Jahiliyah*, or the Battle Day Narratives, reflects the organization, views, and customs of the Bedouin society. It provides a summary of the basic Bedouin

lifestyle and virtues such as, bravery, generosity, loyalty and honor. The heroes of the poems are models for these virtues. The subject of one of the seven golden odes of the *Mu 'allaqat,* a compilation of seven of the best *qasidahs* of pre-Islamic times, is Antarah, who was the son of a black concubine but the epitome of Arab virtues.[1] These poems glorified individuals as they reflected Bedouin virtues, but they also glorified the deeds and genealogy of the tribe as a whole. Battle-Day poems and other such poems were used mainly for propaganda against an enemy. They were intended to intimidate and demoralize the enemy while at the same time exalting one's own status. The pre-Islamic Arabs dated the narratives according to a significant event and often a newer event replaced an older one in terms of a reference point Although they may not have intended the poetry to be an historical recording of their culture and history, this was the poetry's largest contribution to succeeding generations. It not only gave a sense of their culture and society, but in many cases it provided the information to construct histories of many tribes (Duri, 1983, 19-20; Khalidi, 1994, 4-7).

With the coming of Islam, the old pre-Islamic ways of the Bedouin were largely, though not entirely, eliminated. Muhammad did manage a complete break with the pagan past regarding a belief in only one God of the world and its correlation with the idea of world history. Idolatry was the only sin that could not be forgiven by God. Muhammad used the word *Jahiliyah* to refer to the pagan Arabs and their "history" as opposed to the world history of one eternal God to which the Muslim community now belonged. However, the Arab tendency toward pride in ancestry could not fully be swept away. Their belief in prestige due to one's prowess and honor did not cease, but it shifted in some respects to a Muslim arena. The Muslims took pride in remembering their ancestors among the companions and followers of the Prophet instead of pride in tribal descent. To trace one's lineage to a relative of the Prophet or his followers was cause for a record (Obermann,

1955, 280-90). So, too, was the remembrance of these ancestors' deeds in the conquests that led to the glorious expansion of Islam.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam expressed this new type of genealogy and remembrance of ancestors throughout his *Futuh Misr*. The Arabs' love of genealogy was carried on in several ways by the emphasis on the individuals and tribes of the Arabs in Egyptian history and the genealogy, so to speak, of property ownership. He emphasized these things to show the place of Egypt's historical figures in the prestigious history of the Muslim empire.

Genealogy

One of the first genealogies mentioned is that of the slave girls sent to Muhammad by al-Muqawqas in the early years of Islam. The figures of Marya and her son are not disputed. Her sister, however, is a different story. There is controversy not only about her name, but to whom she was given and thus who her offspring were. Obviously, this very early event in Islam was most important, and to be descended from one of these women was seen as prestigious. For this reason, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam devoted considerable space to a discussion of their progeny. Marya died in the year 636 and was prayed over by 'Umar ibn al-Khattab himself. There are many versions concerning the location of Marya's sister, but I will cite just a few. One version had her going to Jahm ibn Qays al- 'Abdari, to whom she bore Zakariya` ibn Jahm. Many of the *hadiths* made her a concubine to Hasan ibn Thabit, so she was known as Umm 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam cited a *hadith* on the authority of 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan ibn Thabit who received it from his mother, Sirin, who was present at Ibrahim's death. Thus one version of this slave girl's name was Sirin, and her importance is obvious since she is the source of

a *hadith*. Others said she was given to Muhammad ibn Maslamah al-Ansari or Dihya ibn al-Khalifah al-Kalbi (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 47-48).

As for Marya, it was related that the Prophet excused her entire family from the *kharaj* out of respect for her as the mother of his son. Obviously, if this *hadith* were true and carried out it could have legal and economic significance for those to whom it applied, thus, finding them was also of the utmost importance. However, only one house of her relations still remained in the author's time (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 52). He did not list the names of these family members or mention whether they were still exempt or even if the exemption had ever been carried out.

Another group of people that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam felt it important to record were companions to the Prophet who witnessed the conquest of Egypt. He not only listed them at the end of his history, but also recorded the traditions based on their authority. In the conquest section he listed a number of companions outright, while the others and their deeds were scattered throughout the history. Of those he listed he also described the properties that they built in al-Fustat and elsewhere. Those he deemed important were the members of the Quraysh and others who had a companionship to the Prophet. Among these famous individuals were 'Amr ibn al- 'As, Kharijah ibn Hudhafah al- 'Adawi and 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. The figure of 'Amr ibn al- 'As is obvious, and his exploits abound throughout the text, including the contribution he made to the Muslim community by building a congregational mosque at al-Fustat. 'Abd Allah, 'Umar's son, appeared occasionally in the text. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam also made a point of identifying the Ansar who entered Egypt during the conquest. Among those individuals appear such names as 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit (already mentioned), Muhammad ibn Maslamah al-Ansari and Maslamah ibn Mukhallad al-Ansari.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam noted some of the men who were present at the Battle of Badr (624) who also had a part in the conquest of Egypt. 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit and Muhammad ibn

Maslamah both witnessed the Battle of Badr, and 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit was also present at the oath of 'Aqabah. The Battle of Badr was the first significant victory for the Muslims and thus occupied a prestigious place in their history. The historian Shurahbil (d. 740) demonstrated this when he essentially extorted offerings from people in his old age by threatening not to include their ancestors in the list of participants at Badr.[2] Six individuals witnessed the Battle of Badr and also came to Egypt: al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam, Sa 'd ibn Abi Waqqas, al-Miqdad ibn al-Aswad, 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit, Abu Ayyub al-Ansari and Muhammad ibn Maslamah al-Ansari (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 92-96). Names of this sort were recorded not just for posterity but for the economic and political benefit of the descendants. The Arab propensity for recording one's line obviously carried over into Islamic days. To be a descendant of these famous individuals carried great weight among the Muslims and also affected their monetary situation through the stipends received every year until they were terminated by the early 'Abbasid caliphs. This then is one probable reason for listing this information about the families and properties of specific Muslims in Egyptian history.

When Caliph al-Mu 'tasim (833-842) began recruiting Turks for his armies he not only replaced many Arab soldiers and commanders but dropped their names from the *diwan*.[3] This was the end of the *diwan* system of rewards based on descent from the early conquerors. From then on it was the Turks in military service who received money from the government. The catastrophe this created among the Arabs is best illustrated in Egypt. The old established population of the Arab families drew their salaries from this *diwan* because of their descent from the conquerors. The end of the *diwan* system severed a link to the days of early Islam and the decline of Arabs in military service threatened their traditional role as defenders of the faith (Kennedy, 1986, 160; Haarman, 1988, 176). Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam wanted to remind people in Egypt and, more importantly, in the rest of the Muslim world, about Egypt's noble past and its prestigious figures of Muslim history.

Besides this, he also tried to revive the memories of this past and its values and structure for his own time.

The other area where Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam traced a "genealogy" was in his records of the ownership of property or houses. In his section on the *khitat* he detailed the names of the people who inhabited these houses and lands, often including important members of Egyptian history or Muslim history in general, such as Caliph Mu 'awiyah (661-680). The details of these houses and properties reinforced pride in Egyptian history and the desire to place it on the map of Islamic history. Here Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam gave tangible evidence of both the prestige of Egypt's settled areas and that of the settlers themselves. One example that has been cited as a legend by modern historians is the reference to the sanctity of the *Muqattam* as containing the plants of paradise. Some scholars believe Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam created this story or used an already existing story to give spiritual sanctity to the location of the burial plots of some of Muslim Egypt's most celebrated ancestors. Although the sanctity may have been fabricated in later times, the tradition of the sacredness of this place was not groundless. It is revealed that this area was already long revered by the local populace, as attested by the numerous Christian shrines mentioned by the medieval writer, Abu Salih (Kubiak, 1987, 108-9, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 157).[4]

By detailing the chronology of the passage of an area or house from one hand to another, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam continued a Muslim tradition of meticulous adherence to tracing a lineage, this time of an inanimate piece of property. Besides the property, he also mentioned a little of the building style to give the reader the impression that the settlers in Egypt were sophisticated and many were well off. An example of his reference to building style was the passage which deals with the House of the Chain, owned by Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Fihri and his descendants. One of these descendants added a round courtyard encircled by columns of marble. Another instance told how Kharijah ibn Hudhafah built a top story to his house, but Caliph 'Umar was angry by the pretension

shown by such a tall house compared to everyone else's and made him tear it down (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 135, 107).

In many of these descriptions of property Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam made a great effort to record every shift of ownership, often to the point of confusing detail. For example, the lines for the property of the house that was known in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's day as the House of 'Umar ibn Marwan were drawn by Wardan, a *mawla* to 'Amr ibn al 'As. However, it was attributed to 'Umar ibn Marwan because when a leader of the army, Antanas, asked Caliph Mu 'awiyah to make him a place near the treasury, Mu 'awiyah bought Wardan's house for Antanas. As compensation, Mu 'awiyah gave Wardan another property. Maslamah sent his *mawla*, al-Simt, with Wardan to mark off his new territory. He was supposed to shoot arrows and wherever they fell would be the boundaries of Wardan's new property. Wardan's old place was granted to 'Umar ibn Marwan when Antanas died. In another version Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam stated that it was said that that house was among the property of the tribe of al-Azd, and 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan bought it and gave it to his brother, 'Umar ibn Marwan (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 98). Other passages in the book are equal in detail to this chain of ownership of a particular property throughout the years.

Another example that becomes even more detailed than the one above concerns the property laid out by Kharijah ibn Hudhafah. The dispute involved an orphan, al-Rabi 'ah ibn Kharijah, in the care of 'Abd al- 'Aziz and al-Asbagh ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz. 'Abd al- 'Aziz bought the house from Kharijah for his son (al-Asbagh); however, it was implied that Kharijah was coerced into selling, as we will see from the narrative that follows: "When 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz became governor, al-Rabi 'ah rode to the governor and brought out a letter of property for the house. 'Umar returned the house to al-Rabi 'ah after al-Rabi 'ah returned the money to 'Abd al- 'Aziz. Al-Rabi 'ah asked 'Umar to be able to rent out the house, and 'Umar said that renting was not allowed in the responsibility and he

['Umar] returned the house to al-Rabi 'ah. However, 'Umar did not allow him to collect the rent. The text continued when al-Asbagh quarreled over the issue with other parties besides al-Rabi 'ah, but one can see from this small passage the complexity of the issue and the pains that the author took to make sure everyone knew the lineage of this house (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 104).

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam also detailed the movements of various tribes, including property ownership and areas that were designated as theirs. A focus on the tribal element rather than the individual reflects the old pre-Islamic heritage of tribal pride and importance. For example, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam defined the boundaries of the Bala tribe as follows, "The Bala delineated behind Kharijah ibn Hudhafah, then they extended their property from the House of 'Amr ibn Yazid to the House of Salmah and the House of Wadih until they reached the House of Mujahid ibn Jabr up to the Road of al-Zajaj." He said, "Then they continued their property until they began at the Owners of the Oil. Then they began south of the Market of Wardan until they reached the Mosque of al-Qurun" (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 116). The property's delineation continued not only with this tribe, but, for example, with the House of Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Fihri, known in the author's time as the House of the Chain. Each of Abu 'Abd al-Rahman's sons, 'Ala' and 'Ali, arrived from elsewhere in the Muslim world to claim this property. They made changes to it and ensured that it would provide for their progeny long after they were gone (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 135). In each description of personal property or the extent of the property of a particular tribe, there were frequent references to houses not already mentioned and various roads or mosques, making it difficult at times to locate properties with certainty. The Ma 'afir tribe had settled on the shores of Yannah and complained of the mosquitoes because of the Nile. 'Amr ibn al 'As agreed to move them to where the Quraysh were and move the Quraysh to the mosquito-infested area, because only the Quraysh would move to that unhealthy environment as a favor to him. However, he

predicted that that area of mosquitoes would someday thrive and the other would die. It befell as he predicted (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 127).

In dealing with the property ownership, we sometimes see in this text a reflection of the old days when the Bedouin were free of immobile property. There is a reminiscence of the unselfishness of the early Muslim period when Muslims did not need material wealth. For example, Qays ibn Sa 'd ibn 'Ubadah marked off a vast territory where a house known as The House of Pepper was built, but he forgot about the territory. While serving as governor of Egypt he asked which property belonged to him, and the inhabitants indicated the House of Pepper. He said he had built it from the wealth of the Muslims. This meant that it had been built from state taxes and thus it belonged to the state and not to him as an individual. Therefore, he wanted no part of it (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 98). This implied that in his role as governor he acquired wealth from other sources, a fact that he was not proud of. He felt that he had used his fellow Muslims for his own gain.

In contrast to this is the action taken by the Umayyad Caliph Mu 'awiyah. When Maslamah ibn Mukhallad became governor of Egypt, Mu 'awiyah asked him for his house and in return he would give him a new house (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 100). Obviously as caliph Mu 'awiyah felt it was his right to own property in different areas of the empire, and to own the exact property he wanted even if it were someone else's. On the other hand, at another time the same Mu 'awiyah refused a gift of property for his daughter, Ramlah, from al-Miqdad ibn al-Aswad of Egypt. Mu 'awiyah informed him that they did not need that property and ordered him to build on it for himself or give it to the Muslims (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 101). In this example, he was being selfless and generous, giving a lucrative piece of land to the Muslim community as a whole.

Why did Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam focus attention on these properties and their lineage of owners? Several possibilities present themselves. First, he was proud of Egypt and its conquerors and their place in Muslim history. He may have been trying to show Egypt's

"long" Muslim past and settlement by Arab conquerors (Jandora, 1997, 20). Another possibility is that the author was trying to determine the legal status of the land of Egypt during the early period of Muslim history. As we will see later on, there was a conflict in the histories of the Muslim conquests over how these conquests determined the legal status of the land and also how the Prophet and early caliphs viewed the ownership of land by their soldiers. From Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history it is clear that private property ownership among the Muslims was prevalent even in the early period.

The section on *khitat* is useful to modern-day historians for reasons beyond simply showing how Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam felt about the history of Egypt. His discussion of the *khitat*, to whom they belonged, where they were, and so forth, has a practical use for historians today. In the historian's search for a description and an analysis of what life was like in al-Fustat and how the city looked, historical sources are valuable. In the case of early al-Fustat, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam is particularly valuable. His history has been used in conjunction with archaeology to discover not only the physical aspects of al-Fustat, but the socio-economic development of it as well. Wladyslaw Kubiak, who utilized Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, studied both the physical and social aspects of al-Fustat in his book, *Al-Fustat, Its Foundation and Early Development* (1987). Much of this discussion will deal with his findings.

From Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's description of the settlement of tribes and their locations, one first has something to go on in determining the physical boundaries of al-Fustat. He stated, for example, that the quarters of the Banu Wa'il in the north bordered the Rashidah from the Lakhm close to the stable (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 128). The *Futuh Misr* is also useful when determining how close the town was established to the Nile border. Al-Maqrizi claimed that the Mosque of 'Amr was built at the edge of the bank of the Nile. In the past, much of the information about the Nile in Islamic times had been based on the *al-Khitat* of al-Maqrizi. However, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, an earlier source, recorded that the

mosque was surrounded (*hawlah*) by gardens and vineyards. The word *hawlah* implies that it was surrounded on all sides, and vineyards and gardens require space, thus indicating a further distance from the Nile. In addition to these agricultural areas, it was recorded that at the time al-Fustat was established there was enough room between the bank and the mosque for an ablution place, a road, and even several houses.

Information from al-Kindi's history supports the idea of a large tract of land between the Nile and the mosque. The mosque was on the eastern bank of the Nile. Like every river, the Nile tends to shift its course over time. In this case such shifting was certainly aggravated by the growth of a city, mostly on its eastern bank, and all the waste and erosion that accompanied this growth. The result was an erosion of the east bank and an increase due to waste buildup of the west bank, thus accounting for the difference in distances recorded in the *al-Khitat* and the *Futuh Misr* (Kubiak, 1987, 44-49; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 92). This is just one example that shows the importance of early works in Egyptian history, particularly the *Futuh Misr*. Physical descriptions given in these works can be a starting point for the historian/archaeologist and is sometimes confirmed or denied by archaeological evidence. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam described buildings with sophisticated techniques of structure and construction such as the courtyard with marble columns or a house with a stone facade. Archaeological evidence also proves the sophistication of materials used in construction in al-Fustat (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 135, 112; Kubiak, 1987, 124).[5]

Through Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's detailed accounts of where the various tribes settled and how their areas were built up or came together through expansion, one can make a physical outline of the various sectors of al-Fustat, such as Kubiak's map of the tribal sectors of al-Fustat (Kubiak, 1987, plan 4, page 176). Of course, archaeological sites do not yield the names of the areas that are excavated or the tribes who settled there, but the descriptions in the *Futuh Misr* give the historian a mental picture of the social make-up of the area.

Details and descriptions of the *khitat* and their occupants allow us to see the development of the social make-up and demographics of al-Fustat over time. Originally, the sectors of the army were assigned *khitat* in al-Fustat. In the early period of the Arab conquests, army units were predominantly made up of whole tribes or a combination of several tribes. Thus, the *khitat* of the army was organized by tribes and comprised the various sectors of the initial town. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's description of *khitat* is mostly based on houses and other buildings built sixty or seventy years after the conquest. In the early Umayyad period the *khitat* continued the tribal character and the areas developed strong tribal affiliations. These descriptions show us the power struggles between the tribes or between the tribes and the central authority as one tribe allied to another and expanded its territory while other territories might shrink. The Ghafiq tribe, for example, was one that extended its numbers and held vast territories. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, the Ghafiq were a third of the people who entered Egypt with the conquerors. Their properties were so extensive that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam finally gave up describing them and said, "And the Ghafiq have more property than what we mentioned, but this is the gist of it" (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 122). From other sources, such as al-Kindi, we see that later Umayyads tried to abolish the tribal holds on the various sectors of the city (Kubiak, 1987, 90-91).[6]

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam is also a reference point for demographic development in al-Fustat. Names of places or buildings such as the Market of the Berbers (*Suq al-Barbar*) indicate a foreign influx, as does his description of the slave market, which was evidence of an expanding economy in al-Fustat and of the raids of Muslims into places in Africa. These details are not only significant for the lineage of the inhabitants of al-Fustat but also indicate a shift in demographics in that town. By the time of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, the center of al-Fustat had become crowded and fresh property there was non-existent, hence the reason for buying and trading the existing choice property. According to Kubiak, in the

second half of the Umayyad dynasty this congestion was characteristic of the entire town (Kubiak, 1987, 82).

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's mention of architecture and its details can provide a few hints to the art historian as to the architecture of al-Fustat. For example, he mentioned a second story of Kharijah ibn Hudhafah's house and the gilding of columns on one of the mosques. One can gain some insight into the style of homes built, such as those with interior courtyards. However, for more substantial evidence of the building materials, the style of homes and their development, one has to look at the archaeological finds from al-Fustat.[7]

Bedouin Pride

This emphasis on the Muslim-Arab genealogy or on the ownership of a piece of property belonging to those Arab conquerors brings us to the next section which discusses the emphasis that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam placed on the purity of and nostalgia for the Bedouin or nomadic Arab way of life. His comparison of the Bedouin lifestyle to that of the luxury-minded Byzantines is infused with a nostalgia for a simpler time or a pride in a time when the term "Arab" signified Bedouin simplicity and high morality. This nostalgia was in vogue at the time the author wrote. As we have seen in the introduction to this analysis, pride in things Arab was important and at the same time was a reaction to or catalyst for the movement of the *Shu 'ubiyah*, which expressed a pride in non-Arab culture. The trends developed at the same time out of a reaction to the social situation of Arabs versus non-Arabs and the changes in culture and society at this time. The reactions of both sides can be viewed in the development of poetry and grammar.

The old Bedouin poetry with its laments of the desert was still prized by the Umayyad court, even though an attentive audience was becoming more and more rare. By the 'Abbasid period a revolt occurred against these ancient bards and their styles of poetry.

Much of the change was due to foreign influences, especially Persian, and the new urban society that could not comprehend or relate to the desert life. The new poetry flourished under the patronage of the court. Much of it was panegyric and satire, and it developed an ornate, bombastic language. Abu Nuwas (d. 810), a poet of mixed Arab and Persian descent, wrote many different types of poetry: panegyric, satire, elegies, religious poems and "love and wine poetry." Love and wine were his trademarks and his moral laxity often angered the caliph. Another poet, Abu al-Atahiya (748-828), reflects a different trend in 'Abbasid society. He started as a court poet, but, when a slave girl of Caliph al-Mahdi refused his affections, he is said to have turned to the ascetic life and henceforth wrote on morality and the philosophy of Islam (Nicholson, 1988, 285-315).

Concurrent with this new poetry and the literature of the *Shu 'ubiyah* came the development of Arabic grammar. Although *Shu 'ubiyah* literature was anti-Arab it was written in Arabic, the literary language of the day. It is said that one of the foremost *Shu 'ubi*s, Abu Ubayda (d. 825), who was of a Jewish-Persian background, was not able to recite a verse or phrase without mangling it, although this was definitely not the case with all *Shu 'ubi*s. The founder of Arabic grammar is usually claimed to be Abu al-Aswad al-Du`ili of al-Basrah in the Umayyad period. Others reject Abu al-Aswad's primary role and describe the development of grammar as a process initiated by the Basran grammarians, of which Abu al-Aswad was a part, as a whole. He was the first to espouse the need for a regulated system, which everyone could follow and refer to. Grammatical development occurred in al-Basrah and al-Kufah where many Arabs of Bedouin descent and a large proportion of *mawali* resided. Corruption in written and spoken Arabic was rampant in these cities. The motive for regulating Arabic grammar is usually stated as a desire for the correct recitation of the Qur`an. However, its development led to other studies, such as *hadith* criticism. The study of grammar borrowed from law and its style and methods, but developed more fully and quickly than law. The methods based

decisions on arguments and analysis. By the ninth century Islam had grown into an institution based on a huge number of records of *hadiths* and commentary on the Qur`an. The ability to interpret this body of law brought power and influence (Carter, 1990, 120-22, 130).

To do grammatical analysis, scholars needed examples of pure Arabic language. The ancient Bedouin poetry that had long been forgotten was revived and collected. Hammad al-Rawiyah (d. 776) is credited with rescuing scores of old poems from oblivion (Nicholson, 1988, 342-44). Along with these collections and the study of old poetry came a revival of pride for these verses. Pride grew into arrogance and contributed to the contempt that Arabs felt for non-Arabs. This pride and contempt strengthened in reaction to *Shu 'ubiyah* slander, the decline in the Arab-oriented focus of culture, and the rise of new influences such as urban entertainment and interests. While the *Shu 'ubis* used the old poetry to slander the character of the Arab, Arabists used it to elevate Arab history and culture; the *Futuh Misr*, for example, displays much of this pride in the Arab character and past. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam relished showing the simplicity and frugality of the Arab Bedouin compared to the Byzantines' sumptuousness. In addition to extolling Bedouin simplicity, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used every opportunity to declare what great fighters and warriors the Arabs were, another positive Bedouin trait.

One portrayal of the simplicity of the Muslim conquerors of Egypt was in the meeting between 'Amr ibn al 'As's Bedouin and the Byzantines. The Byzantines were appalled by the dining habits of the Arabs. The Arabs sat on the ground and one Arab "tore at the meat and scattered it on the Byzantines at his side." The Byzantines were upset at this behavior and asked about the companions who had come with 'Amr in the *Jahiliyah*. The Byzantines stated that those Arabs had been people of peace and these Arabs in front of them were people of war (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 60). Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam had no

qualms about relating the eating habits of his ancestors but rather seemed almost proud of them and their simplicity.

In another case, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam included a story on the idea of writing in this period. Upon the conquest of Alexandria, 'Amr ibn al 'As sent Mu 'awiyah ibn Hudayj to tell 'Umar about the victory. Hudayj asked if he would not like to send a letter and 'Amr angrily replied, "...Aren't you an Arab man who will convey the message and what you saw and witnessed?" (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 81). This episode reflects pride in the Bedouin's word and honesty and also pride in the simplicity of their world and the scorn for the civilized world. This passage is interesting because by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's day memorization as a way of preserving information was becoming a less reliable way of storing information permanently. As mentioned above, in the Umayyad period the traditional lore of the Arabs was still preserved orally, but interest declined and those who practiced oral tradition were slowly dying out. The study of Qur`anic lexicography and the study of *hadiths* led to a new dependence on this lore and it was written down for use in studying religious texts (Watt, 1974, 81; Nicholson, 1988, 277-78).

Several episodes reflected pride in lineage as well. In one example, a group had allowed another who had wronged a relative to go unpunished. Kharijah ibn Hudhafah's killer had really intended to kill 'Amr ibn al- 'As but mistook Kharijah for him. The Muslims allowed the killer to go free, albeit crippled, and return to al- 'Iraq where he had a son. Kharijah's family and supporters were upset that this man who had committed atrocities against them should be allowed to go free and have a son to carry on his name (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 106). This story reflects the fierce pride and emphasis on honor and lineage that formed much of the Bedouin social system.

But it also reflects changes made by Islam to those values. Courage and loyalty were two of the old Arabian points of honor. One must stick with his tribe in all circumstances and defend its individuals and the tribe as a collective. No honorable man could forgive an

injury to his tribe or fail to act on it; that signaled a lack of courage (Nicholson, 1988, 82-84, 92). The perpetrator of a crime suffered the tribe's vengeance, but if he was dead or otherwise untouchable someone else had to pay for the crime. It was blood for blood or a life for a life. In the desert this was a way of balancing out tribal populations and maintaining the general equality of each tribe's strength (Watt, 1979, 17). For tribes of patriarchal descent, the strength of a tribe lay in its adult males. Females were only important if they bore sons. Only adult males could protect and avenge the tribe. Thus, the female infanticide so abhorred by modern readers was a way of balancing the tribes' sexes in numbers.

By the time of the Prophet, individualism among the tribes was becoming stronger, particularly in Makkah and al-Madinah. A man took special interest in his own children, their well-being and inheritance, rather than the traditional reliance on the tribe to raise the child. In Islamic times the Qur`an insisted on a physical recognition of the paternity of a child (Watt, 1977, 270-74). Thus, both pre-Islamic and Islamic ideals were reflected in the reaction of Kharijah's family. As Bedouin they could not permit a wrong to go unpunished, even though the Qur`an called for returning good for evil and forgiveness of enemies (Nicholson, 1988, 178). One reason might be that there was an ingrained idea that a son must not be born to an enemy because the addition of a new male member would strengthen that enemy. In addition, perhaps they could not allow their cowardliness to be passed on to their own sons, as the Bedouin points of honor were not just earned personally but inherited from the noble deeds of ancestors (Obermann, 1955, 257).

Another element of Bedouin society reflected in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's book is pride in one's tribe. Everyone was to belong to a tribe to be somebody. If one had no tribe, one had no support and could easily be disgraced. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam talked of this problem when he mentioned the origins of the people of the banner of 'Amr ibn al 'As. From the textual context, it was understood that anyone without a tribe for whatever reason should

stand under his banner as one people belonging to each other. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam said, "...and they were satisfied with that." Everyone who did not belong to a tribe or even to a numerous tribe (which indicates that the number and thus strength of a tribe was important) was allowed to stand under this banner (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 116-17).

Pride in the Bedouin lifestyle also included pride in their horses. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam devoted a whole chapter to the horses of Egypt and to the horses' progeny. The author named individual horses and described their attributes. He listed their owners and in some cases the names of the "descendants." One example was a horse named al-Khattar that belonged to Lubayd, a man who was killed in the raids in North Africa. When the horse was brought back, 'Abd al- 'Aziz ibn Marwan coveted him and requested him from Lubayd's daughter. However, she had different plans. She cut off his ears and tail to imply that no one must ride him after her father, but the horse eventually came to Ibn Marwan, who used him as a stud. As Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam put it, al-Khattar was the father of all the Farqadi horses of Egypt, a specific strain bred there (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 144-45).

In addition to describing their lineage, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam praised the care that the Muslims showed their mounts. One good example of the care and honor given to a horse was the story of al-Ashqar. His owner did not want to throw him into the heap where other dead animals were deposited, so he dug a grave for him in this area and buried him properly (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 144). The site of his burial is known as Khawkhah al-Ashqar. The Hill of Sharik was the scene of a tale of honor featuring another horse named the roan of al-Sadafi, so known because he belonged to Abu Na 'imah Malik ibn Na 'imah al-Sadafi. This horse and his owner were ordered to fight off the attacking Byzantines at that hill. The horse, who was not easily outrun, descended from the hill and the Byzantines could not catch him until he slowed down at the ambush that 'Amr ibn

al 'As had prepared for them (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 73).

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam also provided episodes in his book that were opposed to the Bedouin ideals. For example, the son of 'Amr ibn al 'As, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr, beat a man because he was bested in a race. 'Abd Allah justified the beating because he called himself the son of two noble ones, demonstrating pride in lineage, and called that man the son of two ignoble ones; thus 'Abd Allah was embarrassed to lose to him. The caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab chided 'Abd Allah and 'Amr for allowing this to happen and allowed the beaten man to take his revenge on 'Abd Allah by beating him in turn. This story reflects the Muslim idea of equality based on faith rather than on lineage (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 167).

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam also spoke of the abundance of Egypt and its effect on the Arab conquerors. He discussed the property that the Muslims acquired and the houses that they built as opposed to the tents the Bedouin lived in. He also described living in a settled area in the countryside, a most disagreeable condition to the Bedouin. In a speech 'Amr ibn al 'As encouraged the Arabs to go to their estates in the spring and to return to al-Fustat in the winter when everything dried up (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 139). In another passage Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam related that a Muslim man was punished for sowing the earth, revealing the distaste the Bedouin felt for the cultivation of land. This passage reflects the earliest sentiments of the Arab conquerors, that they should not own or cultivate land outside the peninsula.

Some of the earliest *hadiths* on the Prophet and stories about the regulations of 'Umar demonstrate this. One *hadith* indicated the Prophet's fear that if the Arabs acquired land they would be over-concerned with worldly goods and therefore abandon their zeal for fighting the enemies in *jihad*, or holy war, and become assimilated to the natives' way of life.[8] Muhammad once stated that God would impose humiliation on the Muslims until they returned to their horses. Both the Prophet and 'Umar believed that ownership of land

would detract from the fighting. Another argument was that ownership of land would debase the Muslims because they would be subjected to obnoxious tax collectors. However, others argued that the tax on land was not shameful. Only the *jizyah* imposed on the individual person could inflict shame (Kister, 1991, 270-76).

Early reports portrayed 'Umar as permitting the division and acquisition of movable property but leaving abandoned and conquered land in the hands of the natives and collecting its yields and revenues. 'Umar forbade the ownership of land outside the peninsula to Arab Muslims. Instead of land the Muslims were to receive portions of the revenues that the Muslims collected. The revenues were recorded and distributed to people based on their lineage and service to Islam. For example, early on in al- 'Iraq, soldiers collected a stipend of cash. In this system, the Prophet's family received the largest stipends, then descendants of the conquerors, and then the masses of Arab tribes according to their military service and knowledge of the Qur`an. This system was known as the *diwan* system (Donner, 1981, 226, 240-41; Hitti, 1970, 171-172). Later, under 'Uthman, it became permissible to own land and more and more Arabs exchanged land in the Hijaz for land in conquered territories. The opposition favored cultivation rather than property ownership. An Arab was to have laborers work his land because farming was still debasing to an Arab. There are known examples other than that in the *Futuh Misr*; for example, when the Muslims reached al-Hula in Syria, the soldiers had heard of the wealth of its land and sowed the fields themselves. 'Umar burned their ripening crops (Kister, 1991, 282-83).

However, other reports contradict this hostility of the Prophet to owning and sowing land. Shortly after the conquest, 'Umar said that a man needed land revenues to pay debts and carry out duties. More revealing is the Prophet's statement that a place in paradise was promised to those who planted date palms, as date palms were highly resistant to drought and could thus serve the Muslims at catastrophic times. In reality, shortly after the initial

conquests the Arabs began to acquire lands, as attested by the grand estates of commanders and other leaders, including some of those estates and houses described by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam in the *Futuh Misr*. The pious proponents of classical Islamic law felt nostalgia for the Prophet's day and declared the appropriation of lands by later caliphs like 'Uthman and the Umayyads to be unlawful (Kister, 1991, 311). Thus, the question of the lands' acquisition by treaty or force came into play in the laws of medieval Islam.

Animosity Toward Non-Arabs

A final topic in this section that complemented the Arabs' pride and their history and culture was their distrust of the non-Arabs. Arab pride in ancestry was always important in pre-Islamic days and even after the rise of Islam, although Muhammad tried to downplay it for the sake of the Muslim community. In the Qur`an there are descriptions of resurrection day which state that there shall be no kinship nor shall anybody question another about his kinship and descendants (Surah 23:101). However, pride in Arab tribal history and genealogy and the accompanying scorn or distrust of non-Arabs reached a new height in the early 'Abbasid period. As mentioned previously, this was a time when the Arab aristocracy lost prestige and power in administration and military service in the empire to the ever-increasing *mawali*.. Early on the *mawali* also became prominent in *hadith* studies, as the Arabs were busy fighting and governing. Many *mawali* scholars of *hadiths* were popular and respected among the population. This led Caliph 'Abd al-Malik to express his objection to their prestige.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used several non-Arabs among his authorities, in particular Yazid ibn Abi Habib. A good example of his use of non-Arabs is the *hadith* about Ibn Sandar which Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam received from a chain going back to Ibn Sandar himself. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam provided several versions of the story, but generally they were the same.

Ibn Sandar had been a slave to the Arab Zinba al-Judhami, who caught him with one of his slave girls and in anger castrated him and cut off his ears and nose. For retribution Ibn Sandar went to Muhammad and Muhammad said that no one should inflict anything on his slave that he himself could not endure, thus, Ibn Sandar was freed. Muhammad took care of him, giving him wealth and property. Abu Bakr and 'Umar supported this non-Arab as well. 'Umar set him up with his choice of land in any area of the empire he wished to go. Ibn Sandar chose Egypt and his was one of the earliest and most lucrative land holdings in that country. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam stated that the Muslims had two *hadiths* about the Prophet on Ibn Sandar's authority, and in one of the *hadiths* about Ibn Sandar he even said that Ibn Sandar was a non-believer. The word *kafir* in Arabic does not just mean a non-Muslim, such as a Christian or a Jew, but refers to an idol worshipper (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 137-38). Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam thus used *hadiths* based on the authority of an infidel. However, Ibn Sandar's importance in Muslim history and his connection with the Prophet gave Egypt immense prestige and thus obviously outweighed the issue of his religion.

Despite the use of *mawali* and *dhimmi* as authorities, the animosity toward the non-Arab peoples was still prevalent even in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's day. The *Shu 'ubiyah* movement that arose in the early 'Abbasid period was a statement of defiance against the Arab conquerors by the non-Arab Muslims and the non-Arab *dhimmis* alike. It was a literary movement, particularly endorsed by the Persian element but espoused by all parts of non-Arab society including the Copts, that was designed to glorify the ancient pasts of the non-Arabs and to show the elegance and sophistication of these histories (Khalidi, 1994, 49-50; Duri, 1983, 50, 153-58).

Along with their loss of intellectual and political control the Arabs lost their economic advantages. The reforms meant that the Arabs were no longer privileged economically and exempt from heavy duties, which caused a further decline in their status within the empire.

As a result of the Arabs' overall loss of prestige and economic privilege, those who supported the Arab cause emphasized Arab versus non-Arab history in order to redeem some of the pride they once felt. This emphasis on Arab culture and people over time led to distrust and animosity toward non-Arab peoples and their history. This was reflected in several passages of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's book, despite the fact that he used non-Arabs in his *isnads* on several occasions; particularly Yazid ibn Abi Habib.

Therefore, much of the time the tone toward the non-Arabs in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history was largely negative or distrustful despite his reliance at times on *dhimmi* transmitters. An example is his portrayal of the Arabs' distrust for the Copts after the conquest of Egypt, despite an earlier passage where he stated that the Copts welcomed the Arabs and "were helpers to the Arabs on that day" against the Byzantines. He said that 'Amr ibn al 'As distrusted the Copts because of money. 'Amr ibn al- 'As suspected that the Copts were hiding treasure that was due the Muslims. He discovered where one of the Copts, Butrus, hid his treasure. After first asking Butrus for it and getting a refusal, 'Amr dug it up and punished Butrus by executing him to set an example for the others (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 87).

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam also implied that the Arabs did not trust the non-Arabs even those among the Arab legions. A group of non-Arabs entered Egypt under the command of 'Amr ibn al 'As. They were Byzantines from Syria and Persians from Yaman. Upon the establishment of al-Fustat and the delineation of land, the Arabs did not feel safe as neighbors to these two groups of people for fear of a breach of faith on their part. Thus, it was decided that different Arab tribes would settle around them, sandwiching them in as if "between the two jaws of the lion". In this way the Arabs secured their promise of loyalty (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 129). In another passage Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam scorned a practice as merely that of the *'ajam*, implying its worthlessness and even barbarity. The head of Yunaq, a slain Byzantine patriarch, was brought to the Muslims so that they could

use his head to celebrate the victory. But Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam felt that using the head of the slain was an *'ajami* custom and therefore of no importance (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 95).

From the examples cited above one can see that the pre-Islamic Arab love and devotion to genealogy of an individual or tribe was not lost even in the time of the 'Abbasids. Pride in one's ancestor who happened to be connected to the Prophet and the original conquests was expected; but as movements like the *Shu 'ubiyah* gained momentum and the traditionally powerful Arab families lost power and prestige to *mawali* and *dhimmi*s, pride in Arab ancestors took on a more intense meaning. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's emphasis demonstrates the significance of the Bedouin virtues and customs, particularly their simplicity and prowess in battle, and his distrust and animosity toward the non-Arabs. However, despite this focus, a consciousness of the wealth of Egypt creeps into the narrative, which represents a conflict in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history and presumably in Muslim society in general. On the one hand, he liked to reminisce about the simple virtues of his conqueror ancestors, perhaps as a warning to the luxury-minded rulers of Egypt and the empire as a whole. However, on the other hand he was proud of the affluence and abundance that Egypt provided its conquerors. In the building projects of al-Fustat we can see that the Arab conquerors of Egypt and their descendants became wealthy and developed tastes beyond the simplicity of the Bedouin. In addition, the descriptions of the houses and estates and their succession of owners indicates a situation of land tenure that allowed for the Muslims to buy and expand their properties in the conquered areas. From our point of view as modern readers his details of property and the owners provide us with information not found anywhere else in the larger volumes of world history.

VI. THE EGYPTIAN FOCUS

Background

The third section of this analysis reflects elements of local history in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's text. Like other provinces, Egypt was becoming increasingly detached from the central government due to its distance from the capital and internal problems in al- 'Iraq. After Caliph al-Wathiq (842- 847), there was a series of dynastic disputes surrounding the throne, starting with al-Wathiq's successor, al-Mutawakkil. Al-Mutawakkil was put on the throne through the instigation of the Turkish bodyguard of the caliphs. He managed to stabilize religious policy, but after his death the struggle for the throne continued among his various heirs and involved the Turkish guard as well. One example of a victim of this struggle was Caliph al-Muhtadi (869-870) who was killed by Turkish opposition (Watt, 1974, 147-54). The Zanj revolt, which lasted fifteen years (868-883), or the raids conducted by the heretical group of the Qarmatis into Syria and al- 'Iraq in the ninth and tenth centuries, illustrated the weakness of the 'Abbasid caliphate at the time.

The result of this political discord was that those in a position to take control grabbed power, most noticeably in the provinces. One such group was the Turkish governors of Egypt. From 856, Egypt was governed by Turkish governors who became more and more independent from Baghdad and Samarra by withholding revenue, through taking advantage of the political strife in the central lands and Egypt's physical distance from the capital. Between the reigns of Harun al-Rashid and al-Muqtadir (908-932) the revenues of the caliphate decreased by half. An important cause of the decrease was that provinces broke into autonomous regions (Waines, 1977, 285). In 868 Ibn Tulun entered Egypt as a deputy governor and immediately became popular because of his efficiency. Despite efforts by the central government to replace him, he was determined to stay; by 886 he managed to coerce Baghdad into giving him a treaty which gave him semi-autonomy over

Egypt and Syria in exchange for tribute. And later, he was able to secure the governorship for his own family, passing it on at his death to his son (Watt, 1974, 165-66; Kennedy, 1986, 169-71).

One obvious characteristic of the *Futuh Misr* is that it is focused entirely on the western half of the Islamic empire, mainly Egypt, as opposed to the world history format of contemporary histories by al-Baladhuri and al-Tabari. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam does not promote a sense of Egyptian nationalism, such as the kind that arose in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, when the idea took hold that the land defined as Egypt had always been a separate entity politically and ethnically and had its own distinct past. Rather, local history in the 'Abbasid period grew out of theological-juridical considerations and also largely out of pride in the region one inhabited. For example, in his *History of Wasit*, the ninth-century historian Bahshal described the city and its surroundings, then proceeded to detail the religious scholars who were connected with Wasit (Rosenthal, 1968, 150, 166). Given the situation of Egypt, politically on the verge of autonomy under the Turkish governors and still dominated largely by the daily culture of the Coptic population and thus still struggling to be recognized as a center of Islam, it is not surprising that the author would try to promote his homeland.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work on the conquest was not a statement of independence but an attempt to tie Egypt into the larger Islamic world. However, he also attempted to show Egypt's prominence in the Islamic world and not just leave it as a subordinate province. All events in his history were centered on Egypt, not the Hijaz or Syria. Anything that happened elsewhere was linked to events in Egypt rather than the other way around. In that respect his history takes on a local Egyptian color. This emphasis on Egypt can be divided into a couple of major themes: the splendor and wealth of Egypt itself, and the prominence of Egyptian characters, who participated in the growth of Egypt as a Muslim province over non-Egyptian ones.

The Egyptian Favor: The Physical Land and its Individual People

In dealing with the entry of 'Amr ibn al 'As to Egypt in the *Jahiliyah* period, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam related that by helping a deacon of Alexandria, 'Amr knew the entrance to Egypt and its abundance and wealth. While 'Amr was in Alexandria, he said that he had, "never seen the like of that city before in regards to its buildings, wealth, people, and good things which amazed him." 'Amr ibn al- 'As was himself clothed in silk brocade when he sat as an honored guest with the nobles of Egypt. Indeed, when trying to convince 'Umar of the benefits of invading Egypt, 'Amr argued that "it is the wealthiest of land and the most incapable of defending itself," thus an easy and profitable target (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 55-56). Most of this paragraph was not meant to praise luxury but the natural attributes of Egypt itself that provided the population with such wealth and comfort. Upon the conquest of Egypt, 'Amr ibn al- 'As wrote to 'Umar describing things similar to what he had seen when he was in Egypt during the *Jahiliyah*. 'Amr related that he had seen four thousand objects of desire, four thousand baths, even the smallest of which had rooms large enough to fit a group of people, four hundred places of entertainment for kings, twelve thousand grocers, and forty thousand Jews from whom he could collect the tribute. The wealth was so overwhelming that the Muslims immediately wanted a share of it (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 82).

The description of such wealth seems to contradict the description of the frugality of the Muslims that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam took such pride in portraying. It was technically contrary to Muslim ideals, for Muslims were not supposed to desire material wealth. However, the early Muslims were Arabs or Bedouin first and it was a Bedouin warrior ethic to loot conquered territories and people. Indeed, the Muslim soldiers in the Near Eastern campaigns were allowed a certain amount of booty. This privilege carried over into Islam

from the customs of Bedouin society. Muhammad himself allowed looting in the raids he conducted on his Bedouin enemies as a way of supplying his nascent community (Watt, 1977, 3-5).

When describing the attributes of Egypt itself, whether man- made or natural, rather than those of its Byzantine rulers, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam showed just as much pride as he did in the simplicity of the early Muslims. He devoted a small chapter to the Nile, the heart of Egyptian life throughout its entire history and the reason for the existence of such a large, thriving population there. He recognized the importance of the Nile to anyone who dwelt in Egypt when he said that only the Nile could safeguard the interests of the people. The praise Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam bestowed on the Nile was nothing short of heavenly. He said that it was mentioned in the Qur`an and that it flowed on God's command and will. He included the Nile in the rivers of Paradise, the others being the Sayhan, the Jayhan and al-Furat. The Nile was the river of honey in Paradise (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 149-50).

In addition, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam recognized the importance of the abundance that the Nile provided when a drought struck the Hijaz during the initial conquest of Egypt. 'Umar reminded 'Amr ibn al- 'As that God had conquered Egypt for the Muslims and that it had an abundance of food. 'Umar begged him to send some of it to the people of the Hijaz (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 163). There were no harsh words or criticisms of the fertility of the Nile region and the abundance it furnished its inhabitants. Indeed, when discussing the story of Ibn Sandar, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam stated proudly that Ibn Sandar chose Egypt because of its great wealth and abundance. He had his pick of any land in the empire, but he chose Egypt, which attested to its attractive qualities (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 137). Egypt's wealth and abundance and the prosperity it provided its inhabitants contrasts with the emphasis Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam placed on the simplicity and frugality of the Bedouin conquerors when they arrived in Egypt. He seemed simultaneously proud of both his frugal ancestors and his luxurious homeland. This conflict in values is typical of Ibn 'Abd

al-Hakam's work in general, as we have seen in his view of non-Arabs and of a person's character flaws versus his faith.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam emphasized his praise of Egypt as the place of arable land when he devoted an entire section to 'Amr ibn al- 'As's speech concerning Egypt's countryside and the Arabs' stay in the countryside. He said that when the Arabs returned from raids and gathered in al-Fustat, the ease of the countryside would beckon them. 'Amr encouraged them to graze their horses and relax. But 'Amr said that when the winter came and everything dried up, the Arabs should return to al-Fustat. I have mentioned this speech in the section on pride in Bedouin customs. In this section, the idea of residing on the land seems contradictory to the pride Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam showed in the Bedouin lifestyle and ideals. However, in his description of the countryside there is no criticism of the land itself. He probably included the situation of the countryside for several reasons. First, it was a very real part of the conquest and post-conquest settlement, thus it reflected his regional emphasis in writing this history. It seems natural that one would play up the attributes of the area about which one is writing, as Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam did. Throughout his history he tried to emphasize Egypt's role, whether because of its Muslim conquerors or its physical attributes. Without forgetting its duties, the Muslim army was to enjoy the goodness of the countryside: its milk, lambs, game, and pasture for the horses. This description of the country lands showed his desire to place individuals and tribes on their properties in Egypt. After 'Amr's speech we find out that these country estates were really areas where the army was quartered during the lulls in fighting. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam detailed to the best of his abilities what tribe belonged to what area. For example, he specified that the Hadramis went to the areas of Baba, 'Ayn Shams and Atrib in order to rest (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 139-42).

When Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam praised the people of Egypt, he did not praise the Copts but the Arabs who conquered it and helped build it into a Muslim province. He was clearly

trying to demonstrate that in early Muslim history Egypt and was not simply peripheral to the greater genre of Muslim history. He did this by building up the Muslim figures of Egypt. The best example is 'Amr ibn al- 'As, known as the conqueror of Egypt. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam gave 'Amr ibn al- 'As praiseworthy characteristics in his account. During the *Jahiliyah*, for example, 'Amr was taken to Alexandria as a guest of a Byzantine deacon whom he had encountered in Syria. 'Amr provided him with water when he was at the point of dying of thirst and gave him lodging for the night. During the night 'Amr also killed a poisonous snake that would have killed the deacon had it bitten him. The deacon was so impressed and grateful that he offered him two thousand *dinar*s, double the blood money that one free Arab man would bring. 'Amr was to go to Alexandria to collect it. Once in Alexandria, he was treated like royalty for his kindness. Through these acts 'Amr received, in his own words, the first real profit he had ever received, and he knew the entrance to a rich, abundant land that would later serve and become a part of a great Islamic empire (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 54).

'Amr ibn al 'As was also depicted as a hero for protecting this newly conquered land and its people as his own against people who did not care or have as great a stake in Egypt. When questioned about the meager taxes collected under his reign as governor compared to later governors, 'Amr was supposed to have said, "You injure its [Egypt's] child" and "The weaned camel will not die" (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 161).

Indeed, in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history, there is a noticeable Egyptian slant, which is particularly important when discussing two main characters of Egyptian history: 'Amr ibn al- 'As and al-Muqawqas. The way that he portrayed these two characters and their actions differs from contemporary and earlier sources' depiction of these figures, which is what I will discuss now.

The Mu 'awiyah/ 'Amr ibn al- 'As/ 'Ali Conflict

The first and most critical figure for the early history of Islam is the character of 'Amr ibn al- 'As. The general image of 'Amr in the Islamic histories is influenced by his role in the conflict between 'Ali and Mu 'awiyah. Erling Petersen devoted a study to analyzing this phenomenon through its different stages, from the earliest occurrences to the 'Abbasid period.[1] In summary, Petersen informs us that there were two factions at the start of 'Ali's caliphate: the old Arab aristocratic element that had been leaders in pagan times, such as the Umayyad clan which had opposed him after the death of Muhammad's uncle, Abu Talib, and the newly emerging religious elite, whose ideas leaned more toward equality within the community. The Makkan party, which consisted of such personalities as A 'ishah and al-Zubayr, was mainly concerned with a desire for reforms. According to Petersen, originally the conflict between 'Ali and Mu 'awiyah was not over who would be caliph but was a battle to avenge the murder of 'Uthman. According to the Umayyad position, 'Ali forfeited his right and his religion by the shedding of blood of fellow Muslims in battle at Siffin, the Battle of the Camel, and al-Nahrawan.[2] One of the reasons for the eventual Umayyad victory was the personality of Mu 'awiyah, who was a calm, politically shrewd and opportunistic individual.

The Iraqi's version of history was the most harsh against Mu 'awiyah, and their hostility extended to the person they saw as his co-conspirator, 'Amr ibn al 'As. The earliest version of the Kufi traditions is that espoused by the historian al-Sha 'bi (d. *ca.* 728). He emphasized the Kufans' anti- 'Uthman feelings without implicating them in the murder and suggested that the hostilities between 'Ali and Mu 'awiyah were instead related to the murder. In his version of the Siffin arbitration which took place between 'Ali and Mu 'awiyah in order to settle the dispute over 'Uthman's murder, the idea of who had the real authority was important as well. He depicted 'Amr ibn al- 'As as worldly and

dishonest but did not really define him as the instigator of the arbitration. Later authors such as Awanah (d. 764) took the desire for vengeance from Mu 'awiyah and attributed it to 'Amr, who, they said, influenced Mu 'awiyah to act. Another historian, 'Isa ibn Yazid (*ca.* 700), also depicted 'Amr as the instigator and related that 'Amr talked to his sons about the "opportunities," meaning the acquisition of Egypt for himself, that would come if they sided with Mu 'awiyah. Yazid claimed 'Amr recognized Mu 'awiyah as caliph while the other Iraqi historians merely had him siding with the governor against 'Ali (Petersen, 1964, 28-33).

The later Iraqi writer Abu Mikhnaf (d. 774) was of the al-Azd tribe and his ancestors fought for 'Ali against the Umayyads in Persia. He talked of the *'Uthmaniyah* and linked Mu 'awiyah's actions to them. The *'Uthmaniyah* were those people who fought against the enemies of 'Uthman who had helped to bring about his murder. Abu Mikhnaf said Mu 'awiyah immediately rejected 'Ali even before the Battle of the Camel. This statement was a break with the previous traditions of al-Sha 'bi. He accepted 'Amr ibn al- 'As's condemnation by other authors and made Mu 'awiyah's goal one of personal ambition right from the start. In Abu Mikhnaf's version, 'Ali warned 'Amr of his behavior, but it was too late to change 'Amr's mind. 'Amr had already made himself the enemy of God for worldly gain. Abu Mikhnaf referred to the Umayyads as people who had barely left the *Jahiliyah*, turning the Umayyads' pride in their Arab background against them, and thus deemed their caliphate illegal. Identifying the Umayyads with the *Jahiliyah* was consistent with the *Shi 'i* view of the late Umayyad period (Petersen, 1964, 52-60).

The Madinan version had some elements of the Iraqi school but was more moderate in dealing with the Umayyads and 'Amr ibn al- 'As. Two early writers, Salih ibn Kaysan (d. 758) and al-Zuhri (d.741), said that Mu 'awiyah demanded vengeance for 'Uthman's murder and the election of a caliph who was not tarnished. They viewed 'Ali's involvement in the 'Uthman incident and the fact that he had not taken forceful action

against the murderers as a stain on his caliphate. Al-Zuhri followed the Iraqi version by agreeing that it was 'Amr ibn al- 'As who was the real culprit of the conflict, stating that he tricked everyone by suggesting a trial by the Qur`an. This is the famous incident in which both sides attached copies of the Qur`an to their lances and charged. The idea was that God would give victory to the righteous party. The key difference between the Iraqi and Madinan versions, however, was their depiction of the actions of 'Amr during the battle and arbitration. In the Iraqi tradition 'Amr breached an agreement and betrayed his religion by swearing an oath to Mu 'awiyah as caliph. The Madinan historians recognized his shrewdness, but said that he simply outmaneuvered 'Ali and his advisors. They instead attributed the outcome to the incompetence of 'Ali's advisor, Abu Musa, not to fraudulence on the part of 'Amr.

Poets of the early Umayyad period expressed the same variety of opinions. Al-Akhtal (d. *ca.* 710) recited that the arbitration did nothing but create fear between the two sides, but there was no mention of 'Amr ibn al- 'As's "treachery." The poems of al-Najashi and Ju`ayl made the conflict into a national one between al- 'Iraq and Syria. They suggested that Mu 'awiyah rebelled because of 'Uthman's murder and that he wanted to be caliph because he had the support and favor of the Syrians. Al-Aswad ibn al-Haytham wrote that 'Amr ibn al- 'As gave up his religion for the promise of Egypt. As time passed the historical figures in the poems and the histories lost their religious motives and a quest for vengeance on their part and 'Amr's worldliness increased instead. The focus of the conflict shifted to the legitimacy of the Umayyad caliphate (Petersen, 1964, 35-50, 64).

Up to 800 the 'Abbasids channeled the conflict into the ideas of legitimacy and the theocratic idea in Islam. They tried to distance themselves from *Shi 'i* propaganda. They represented 'Ali as a well-meaning figure but also as a protégé of their ancestor, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abbas, and as one surrounded by incompetence. One example is the version of

Muhammad ibn Sa`ib al-Kalbi (d. 763), who had al-'Abbas warning 'Ali that Abu Musa would be no match for the manipulative delegation of Mu 'awiyah and 'Amr ibn al- 'As.

Al-Tabari, a later author, also portrayed this naiveté of Abu Musa as well. Abu Musa and 'Amr met to negotiate and argued over who should be caliph. 'Amr claimed Mu 'awiyah had the right because as next of kin to 'Uthman, a person of authority, he had the right to avenge him; so tried to convince Abu Musa to support Mu 'awiyah for caliph. According to al-Tabari's sources, 'Amr even tried to bribe Abu Musa with hints of powerful positions. Abu Musa refused the bribe and said the caliphate belonged to the one who was superior in piety and merit of religion and he believed that was 'Ali. 'Amr then suggested that they reject both candidates as tainted by the dispute and 'Uthman's murder and let the Muslim community decide. Abu Musa agreed, but his companions warned him that he and 'Amr should denounce the two candidates together in front of the rest of the Muslims, lest 'Amr should trick him and renounce his agreement to denounce the two candidates. However, that was exactly what 'Amr did. Abu Musa spoke first, then 'Amr stated his acceptance of Abu Musa's deposition of 'Ali and offered Mu 'awiyah as caliph (al-Tabari, 1996, 91-110).

Al-Kalbi's son Hisham furthered the idea of the 'Abbasids as the strong partner and emphasized the frequent splits in the ranks of 'Ali's supporters. The general trend was to make al-'Abbas a mentor of 'Ali, but in the histories 'Ali would not listen and his ranks split, leaving a united Umayyad faction more powerful. In a sense, then, according to the 'Abbasid version of history, 'Ali himself was responsible for the Umayyad caliphate. The history of this time was less a defense of the past than an attempt to produce arguments for the current politics in the 'Abbasid age.

Pro-Umayyad traditions continued to exist in the 'Abbasid period and even in the Umayyad period in al-Basrah. These traditions centered around a combined Syrian-

Madinan heritage. The Basran school dealt with the immediate consequences of 'Uthman's murder, but not Mu 'awiyah's controversial role as governor or caliph. It is from al-Baladhuri that we have a knowledge of these Basran-Syrian/Madinan traditions. It did not see Mu 'awiyah's revolt as connected with the problem of the *'Uthmaniyah* as other historians had. They censored Mu 'awiyah for his worldliness, but nevertheless blamed 'Ali for a fair share of the conflict. In their view, the Umayyads were the only force strong enough to resist the *Shi 'is*, whom they viewed as a dangerous force in the community. The real goal of the Basran school and its writings was to legitimize the Umayyad caliphate against the accusations leveled by 'Ali's supporters (Petersen, 1964, 70-77, 111-15).

In the next generation (800-850), history placed the blame squarely on the Umayyads. Al-Waqidi (d. 822) blamed the Egyptian rebels for the murder of 'Uthman and for the whole subsequent conflict. The Egyptian rebels and others from other provinces were upset at the way their governors, appointed by 'Uthman, had been running their countries. They came to al-Madinah and participated in the murder of the caliph. Al-Waqidi was sympathetic to 'Ali but portrayed al-'Abbas as his mentor. The history of Muhammad ibn Sa 'd (d. 845) crystallized 'Amr's initiative in the conflict; thus, the general trend moved away from the strict anti-*Shi 'i* slant to re-evaluate the position of 'Ali in a more positive light. The *Shi 'i* trend in this period followed in the lines of the extreme Iraqi historians, such as 'Isa ibn Yazid and Abu Mikhnaf. They emphasized the worldliness of the Umayyads versus the high moral fiber of 'Ali. The change to the 'Abbasid dynasty did not change the *Shi 'is'* status in the empire. The 'Abbasids took control, leaving 'Ali's supporters out in the cold. However, these supporters still claimed that 'Ali's descendants were the rightful heirs. For example, historian 'Umar ibn Sa 'id (ca 800) did not mention al- 'Abbas's role in the conflict and arbitration. The reason he gave for the conflict was

Mu 'awiyah's need for vengeance. 'Ali was innocent of the murder and of initiating the conflict, although he was justified in taking up arms to defend himself (Petersen, 1964, 100-104).

From 850 to 900 the trend was toward reconciliation of the orthodox position and the *Shi 'i* view. This no doubt was the work of the *Mu 'tazili* doctrine and al-Ma'mun's goal, which is reflected in the works of later generations. But the conflict became crystallized as a political one rather than a religious one, and 'Amr ibn al- 'As's role in these politics also established the depiction of 'Amr's character for posterity. One example is al-Tabari's characterization of 'Amr. In al-Tabari's history, 'Amr was generally depicted as a shrewd or ambitious politician. Even Mu 'awiyah was suspicious of him at times. Mu 'awiyah is quoted as saying to 'Amr, "You can not wait to get powers after my death," while in reference to the promise of Egypt, Mu 'awiyah complained that 'Amr was only supporting him for worldly gain (al-Tabari, 1996, 70; 1987, 222). In another instance, 'Amr shrewdly told members of 'Uthman's delegation what he thought they wanted to hear in order to gain their trust, but when he was alone with 'Uthman he advised him more honestly to refute or atone for the accusations or otherwise abdicate (al-Tabari, 1990, 138). 'Amr's character as portrayed by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam is vastly different from al-Tabari's version and the others previously mentioned.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's View of 'Amr ibn al- 'As

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's portrayal of 'Amr ibn al- 'As does not have anything to do with 'Amr's role in the Mu 'awiyah conflict. It deals with 'Amr as the commander who conquered Egypt and who became the first to make administrative decisions there. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam did not discuss the later conflict between 'Ali and Mu 'awiyah, perhaps because he did not want to involve himself in a conflict which tarnished his "hero's" image.

However, in the account given in the *Futuh Misr*, on his death bed 'Amr regretted some of the things he had done in his life and warned his son not to do the same (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 180-81).

The fact that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam did not include 'Amr's role in the 'Ali-al-Mu 'awiyah conflict reflects the regional aspect of his work as well. His description of the character of 'Amr is very different from those mentioned above, and makes a great contribution to the historical record of 'Amr. He represented 'Amr in an extremely positive light, in distinct contrast to how other sources portrayed him. Thus, he provides a different view of 'Amr's personality, presenting a more well-rounded historical image of the figure but also creating a conflict over his character for historians to ponder. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam provided testimony to 'Amr's noble character through the actions he took toward other Muslims and with the people of Egypt. However, 'Amr had his questionable moments, and Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam showed us 'Amr's flaws; nevertheless, 'Amr emerged as a heroic figure for Egypt.

In contrast to his noble deeds, such as saving the life of the deacon in the *Jahiliyah*, 'Amr ibn al- 'As also demonstrated what might be termed greed in his hurry to conquer Egypt for the Muslims. From the Muslim point of view, this works for the benefit of the Egyptian people. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam devoted much attention to the way 'Amr entered and thus conquered Egypt. He gave no fewer than five different versions of the exchange between 'Amr and 'Umar over whether or not 'Umar would permit him to enter Egypt. On this issue the gist of all the versions is the same. 'Umar cautioned against this move and thought that it might do the Muslims more harm than good, but 'Amr ibn al- 'As convinced 'Umar that the conquest of Egypt was a sure thing, that the Copts could not defend themselves (a key point later) and that Egypt was an abundant land that would provide resources for the Muslims. In most versions, 'Umar gave his permission but said that he would send a letter with further advice. If 'Amr had not yet reached the land of Egypt and

the order in the letter was to turn back , he must return, but if he was already within the borders of Egypt the advice from 'Umar did not matter, so he might proceed despite the order.

In all versions 'Amr showed deceptive behavior. He ignored the letter brought to him before he reached Egypt and only read it after he knew he had entered Egypt. In one version, the *hadith* described 'Amr ibn al- 'As as leaving quickly and stealthily in the night as if afraid that 'Umar might change his mind. In another version 'Umar addressed him as al- 'As ibn al- 'As, the disobedient of the disobedient (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 56-57). 'Umar actually used this address quite frequently, especially when 'Umar asked for the taxes that he felt had been withheld. In this encounter, 'Amr appeared greedy and deceitful, as previous historians had depicted him at al-Siffin. However, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam offered no comments on his goals or motives nor did he make any comments about the *hadiths* themselves, negative or positive. In al-Baladhuri's depiction of 'Amr ibn al- 'As, on the eve of the conquest of Egypt, he appeared greedy and sneaky. At one point he tried to bribe the messenger sent to deliver the caliph's message, but the messenger refused to take the bribe, which made 'Amr look worse. Al-Baladhuri's tone toward 'Amr was more accusatory. He said that he left Syria and went to Egypt all on his own accord. 'Umar was furious and wrote him a letter of reprimand. 'Umar was as cautious in al-Baladhuri's history as he was in the *Futuh Misr* (al-Baladhuri, 1966, 344-46). As the *Futuh Misr* continued, however, 'Amr appeared generous and heroic against an adversary; much of the time this adversary was the caliph 'Umar.

'Umar, too, appeared in both positive and negative lights. The following are some of the praiseworthy actions of 'Umar included in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history. Repeatedly, 'Umar insisted that conquered areas such as Alexandria not be divided. The Muslim soldiers requested that 'Amr ibn al- 'As write to 'Umar and that they be allowed some of the booty. To his credit, in all of the versions of this event, 'Amr also continually insisted

that he would not break the contract to protect the Copts and that he must write to 'Umar for advice. 'Umar flatly refused permission to carve up Alexandria among the Muslims and ordered 'Amr to leave the Copts alone and let them pay taxes instead. What was taken by force was to be a source of revenue for the Muslims as a community (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 82, 88). Elsewhere 'Umar quoted a saying from the Prophet to justify his actions; the Prophet foretold the conquest of Egypt by the Muslims and instructed the Muslims to treat the Copts well (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 140). Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam ended his section on *hadiths* supporting the conquest of Egypt by force by saying that despite these examples, there were others to support the idea of conquest by treaty. Thus some of Egypt was conquered by force and some by treaty. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam wrote that 'Umar made Egypt all *dhimmah* status and that is what continued to his day (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 90). 'Umar was also credited with fairness to the low born against the high born. In one example he chastised 'Amr ibn al- 'As for allowing 'Amr's son to beat a man because he was angry at losing a race. His son felt justified because the man was not of noble birth. 'Umar even asked the man to beat 'Amr himself since the sins of the son are those of his father, an idea dealing with the Bedouin virtues of honor and disgrace, but the man refused because 'Amr ibn al- 'As had done nothing wrong. 'Amr claimed that had the complaint come to him he would have stopped the abuse. However, that man never brought it to his attention, so 'Amr appeared blameless in this situation (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 167-68). The incident provides a good example of justice and of Muslim attitudes toward both fellow Muslims and their ancient Bedouin ways.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam viewed 'Amr ibn al- 'As as generous and trustworthy and therefore used *hadiths* based on his authority. The author mainly used Egyptian *muhaddiths* for his information on the history of Egypt, as we shall see later in the section on *hadiths*. His use of 'Amr as a transmitter further emphasized his preference for the local authorities. For example, he used a *hadith* based on 'Amr's authority concerning the treaty negotiations for

Babylon. During the negotiations with the Byzantines, 'Amr's troops tried to convince him that the Muslims should not negotiate with the Byzantines but simply fight them so that all the plunder and booty of the fortress would be theirs. 'Amr refused to listen. He gave the Egyptians three conditions: conversion, surrender and payment of taxes, or resistance and loss of their land and possibly enslavement. If they accepted any one of these conditions, he was bound to honor it. 'Amr told his troops that he would not go back on his word. At this time, however, the Muslim forces were surrounded by the waters of the flooded Nile and could not move against the Byzantine troops. One wonders whether 'Amr's response would have been different had the Nile not been in flood stage. Was he honestly in favor of peace talks or did he suggest them because the circumstances of the flood left him no other profitable choice? (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 70) Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam also quoted *hadiths* based on 'Amr's authority which did not deal with the conquest but with general topics concerning the customs of Islam. Examples are the *hadith* that dealt with the differences in fasting between the Muslims and the people of the book, and a *hadith* on the details of prayer (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 97).

As noted earlier, much of 'Amr ibn al- 'As's character was based on his dealings with 'Umar over questions such as distribution of wealth, the amount of the *kharaj* and the maintenance of Egypt versus the Hijaz. In all these situations 'Amr was portrayed as the one fighting for the rights of the Egyptians or for justice against an unfair adversary. Not only did these episodes show 'Amr in a good light, but they provide an insight into the personal politics between two influential characters of that era, 'Amr and 'Umar.

'Umar saw corruption by his own agents in the process of the collection of wealth in Egypt. He accused the agents not only of collecting more money for themselves than they should, but of falling away from the true faith by eating what was forbidden and bequeathing what was forbidden. He sent Muhammad ibn Maslamah to Egypt to divide the wealth more equally. Maslamah's arrival in Egypt started a series of exchanges with 'Amr

ibn al- 'As over 'Amr's motives and character. 'Umar presumably had indicated that the corruption was either widespread or had been influenced by 'Amr himself. Maslamah refused the welcoming gifts of 'Amr on the grounds that he was corrupt and asserted that therefore the gifts were tainted. He said, "If it were a gift of a brother to his brother, I would receive it. However, it is a gift of a leader so evil is behind it." The word *khalf* is translated as leader. The Arabic root "*kh l f*" indicates successor, as in the word *khalifah*. This could imply that 'Amr ibn al- 'As was seeking power at the expense of the Muslims and perhaps of the caliph as well by denying him his due share of the taxes (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 146).

One of the most explosive or accusatory exchanges between 'Umar and 'Amr ibn al- 'As was over how much of the *kharaj* 'Amr should be sending and how much he should be collecting. 'Umar stated that he was surprised at the small amount of *kharaj* 'Amr raised. He said that in the pharaohs' day, the pharaohs raised a good deal more, despite the fact that they were not guided by the true faith. 'Umar said that he could not understand the discrepancy because Egypt was a country of arable and abundant land. He indicated that 'Amr had been withholding money, and that he hoped he would send the right amount this time instead of refusing. In his letters, it seemed he gave 'Amr every opportunity to blame others for the delay. He wrote that he knew the reason for the low *kharaj* was the evil nature of the agents who used 'Amr as a scapegoat. He added that he had a remedy, which was for 'Amr to send him the proper amount. Here he blamed 'Amr but gave 'Amr a chance to blame someone else and redeem himself. 'Umar warned him that he could no longer be greedy, since his corruption had been revealed and that he might as well pay the correct amount.

'Amr ibn al- 'As responded to 'Umar by agreeing that the pharaohs had more success, but that that was because they were more concerned with the cultivation of land. 'Amr said that he had squeezed Egypt dry for the *kharaj*, so much so that it had stopped producing.

'Amr threatened him by saying that 'Umar had blamed him for corruption, but that he had not exposed or blamed 'Umar for anything he had done. 'Amr implied that he had secret knowledge of misdeeds which 'Umar had committed. He said he had been silent out of respect for 'Umar, but the caliph had not been respectful of him even though he had done nothing wrong.

In response to this accusation, 'Umar calmly reminded him that Egypt existed in the Islamic world simply to provide for the Muslims, not to benefit itself or those among the Arabs who had settled there. At this very point, 'Amr ibn al- 'As became a hero to Egypt. He had already said that he was milking the country dry and could do no more, and now 'Umar was explicitly stating that he did not care for the Egyptians' welfare. 'Amr begged him to wait until the Egyptians' crops came in to make it easier for them, which increased his hero status. This conflict was resolved when 'Umar asked 'Amr to ask al-Muqawqas how to provide for and use Egypt's resources. Al-Muqawqas said one must wait for the crops, irrigate them, and not allow corruption. He probably was referring to tax collection and other administration. 'Umar even asked for an opinion from the Copts. A Coptic representative attested that, as a result of the pressure from the caliph, 'Amr was pressing the Copts to the limit. It was only then that 'Umar accepted 'Amr's argument (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 158-61). In Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's version of these events 'Amr ibn al- 'As stood his ground and defended Egypt. In the *Futuh Misr*, it was 'Amr who had the moral upper hand against 'Umar in the *kharaj* dispute and the canal incident. Even during the drought, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam made it seem as if the Egyptians wanted to help, but the caliph was being too demanding. In al-Baladhuri's account 'Amr also argued with 'Umar about the taxes, but here 'Amr appeared greedy and even frightened of the caliph (al-Baladhuri, 1966, 344-46). In general, throughout the account of the conquest of Egypt in al-Baladhuri's history, 'Amr's character seemed flawed and greedy although he appeared

to be more greedy and corrupt in the sections on the administration of Egypt than during the actual conquest.

The final subject that demonstrates the politics between 'Amr ibn al- 'As and 'Umar was over the digging of the canal known as the Canal of the Commander of the Faithful. It had been dug in the time of the pharaohs and afterward, but by the time of the Muslim conquest it had fallen into disuse and silted up. The suggested re-opening came about because in the year 638 or 639 the Hijaz suffered a serious drought. 'Amr sent great caravans to the Hijaz to relieve the suffering. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam exaggerated the length of the caravans to show the extent to which Egypt went in order to help those in need in the Hijaz. He wrote that the caravans were so long that the first of them was in the Hijaz while the last of them was still in Egypt. As usual Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam gave several versions as to who suggested the re-opening of the canal. In most cases 'Amr suggested the canal and then regretted it because he knew the people of Egypt would tell him that it would be a hardship on them in a several ways.[3] First, to dig it would take manpower away from the crops; second, it would mean that the flow of goods away from Egypt would drain Egypt even more. 'Umar asked the Egyptians to send a portion of everything that they produced. When the people of Egypt heard the plan, they asked 'Amr to tell the caliph that digging the canal would be too burdensome and that it could not and would not be done. It is not explained how, but 'Umar somehow knew what 'Amr would say and played on his conscience by accusing him of not caring for the Muslim people. He said, "God has conquered Egypt for the Muslims and it is abundant in good things and food. He had mercy [by the conquest of Egypt] on the people of the two Holy Places and generosity to them. God conquered Egypt for them and made it a power for them and for all the Muslims..." Just as in the discussion over the *kharaj* except more urgently, 'Umar stated that the only reason for Egypt's existence was to serve the Muslims. 'Umar believed that 'Amr must sacrifice the

Copts for the Muslims. 'Amr's willingness to listen to the Coptic demands and pleas place him as an Egyptian, not a Muslim, hero (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 162-65).

Al-Tabari's version of the drought is different from the account by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. It was told more from the point of view of the Makkans and 'Umar. Here a desperate 'Umar was finally persuaded to ask for help from the garrison cities only after Muhammad had come to him in a dream. He begged 'Amr for aid and said that Egypt was meant to serve the Muslims, not to benefit the pockets of its conquerors. In this version of the drought 'Umar was seen as the caliph who was doing the best he could for his people while faced with a selfish Egyptian commander, 'Amr 'ibn al- 'As, who was portrayed as greedy and selfish, and unwilling to give up Egypt's food for the good of the Hijaz. There was no mention of the threat that the sending of food would bring to Egypt (al-Tabari, *Conquest of Egypt*, 1989, 155-157). In the *Futuh Misr*, the worry was that 'Umar milked Egypt dry and now the caliph would rob Egypt of its last bit of wealth which came in the form of an abundance of food. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's version gave greatest consideration to what would be best for Egypt. Al-Tabari focused on the center of the caliphate and the early Muslim empire, the Hijaz.

The View of al-Muqawqas

Another figure from the *Futuh Misr* who provokes controversy is al-Muqawqas. Butler had come to the conclusion that in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's version, al-Muqawqas is Cyrus, the Melkite patriarch of the Byzantines. Cyrus was sent to govern Egypt; therefore, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam defined him as leader or king of Egypt (Butler, 1978, 512, 522). However, if this is true, the figure of al-Muqawqas in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history is greatly different from the Cyrus portrayed by other authors, mostly of Coptic origin, and thus from the figure that is depicted today in modern history books. In the Coptic

chronicles, Cyrus was seen as a vicious tyrant who thought nothing of torturing the eastern Christians, lay and clergy alike. In these Coptic chronicles, he is compared to the son of Satan, the anti-Christ, or he is called the Impious one or the Jew.

Two of the main Coptic chroniclers to provide us with a picture of Cyrus are John of Nikiu and Severus. John of Nikiu was probably born around the time of the Muslim invasion of Egypt. He was appointed the Coptic bishop of the town of Nikiu and later, in 696, administrative general of the monasteries. Eventually he was deposed from the latter position due to accusations of abuse of power. His chronicle was originally written in Greek. At some time it was translated into Arabic and then in 1602 it was translated to the Ethiopian language. Only the Ethiopian version has survived. The Ethiopian version contains large gaps, particularly in the period 610-640, from the accession of Heraclius to the earliest arrival of the Arabs in Egypt (Nikiu, 1980, iii-v). Anything John might have said about Cyrus' persecution of the Copts in these years is missing. John's depiction of Cyrus as the instigator of the treaties with the Arabs is similar to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's as well as other Coptic chroniclers'. All agree it was Cyrus who pushed for treaties and agreements with the Arabs. What appears in the Coptic chronicles that is completely absent from Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's is the tyranny of Cyrus over the Copts. Although much of the description of his tyranny is missing in John's chronicle, he made reference to it later in the chronicle.

Like other Coptic chroniclers, John recorded his hatred and disdain for the Muslims. He said 'Amr was not satisfied at mere conquest, but shackled the Byzantine magistrates, seized their possessions, and doubled taxes on the peasants. He also said that the Muslims put the inhabitants of Nikiu and other villages to the sword because they found no soldiers. He stated that it was impossible to recount all the atrocities committed by the Muslims. Obviously he viewed the Muslims as barbarians and as his enemy. However, according to John, the real cause of Egypt's suffering was Cyrus' actions. He mentioned that Cyrus

made, or attempted to make, a treaty with the Arabs twice: once at the initial invasion and again when he was reinstated to Egypt after having been recalled. In his chronicle, Cyrus' goal was to make a treaty with the enemy. At the second treaty the inhabitants of Alexandria were so incensed at his "surrender" of Egypt that they attempted to stone him (Nikiu, 1980, 191-94). John said, of course, that the Muslims did not hold up their side of the agreement and that Cyrus fell ill due to excessive grief over what he had done. John found justice in the expulsion of the Byzantines; their loss of Egypt was recompense for the oppressive nature of the Byzantine rule over the Copts. He wrote that the Arab conquest of Egypt was due to the wickedness of the emperor through the persecution by Cyrus (Nikiu, 1980, 200).

A much later chronicler, Theophanes (b. between 752 and 760), expressed the same idea: as a punishment for Byzantine sins, such as the persecution of the Copts, the Arabs invaded Egypt and took it from the empire (*Chronicle of Theophanes*, 1982, xii, 57). For detailed examples of Cyrus' persecution of the Copts, Severus is the chronicler to study. One example was the torture and drowning of Menas, the brother of the Coptic bishop, Benjamin. The details are preserved in Severus' chronicle.[4] One gruesome passage read, "First of all lighted torches were held against him and he was burnt 'till the fat dropped down from both his sides on the ground" (Butler, 1978, 184). Other documents such as the biography of the Coptic Patriarch Issac or of Samuel of Kalamun also illustrated Cyrus' tyranny.[5] An example from Samuel's biography depicted Cyrus' personal participation in the torture. Cyrus entered the monastery where Samuel dwelled and questioned the steward, who confessed that Samuel called Cyrus a blasphemer, among other things. Cyrus fell into a rage and ordered Samuel brought to him. Samuel was bound and whipped until nearly dead, but was rescued by the ruler of the city of Piom (Butler, 1978, 185-87).

From these Coptic sources one senses two major trains of thought. First of all, the Copts had no love for the Muslims and saw them as usurpers and barbarians. John of Nikiu included a prayer that some day God would deliver the Egyptians from the hands of the Muslims (Nikiu, 1980, 201). Second, these chroniclers blamed the Byzantines, particularly Cyrus, for the Muslim victory because of Byzantine persecution and tyranny over the Copts and Cyrus' betrayal of Egypt by agreeing to negotiate.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's depiction of Cyrus under the name of al-Muqawqas is similar to the character in the Coptic chronicles in one respect. In the face of opposition from the Byzantine emperor and troops, it was Cyrus who instigated and pushed for negotiations with the Arabs. However, after that Cyrus' characterization ceases to resemble the one in the Coptic chronicles. He is depicted as a leader of the Byzantines and Copts alike and is occasionally referred to by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam as the great one of the Copts (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 46). Not only is he referred to in this way, but his actions in the *Futuh Misr* show him as a protector and supporter of the Copts even against the Byzantines. From the Muslim point of view, his depiction was almost as a hero of Egypt for recognizing the futility of resisting the Muslims and agreeing to early arbitration thereby making the transition smoother and more beneficial to the people of Egypt.

From the beginning, al-Muqawqas was willing to make an early peace or to negotiate early to make things easier for his subjects, the Copts. In one instance he sneaked over to the Arab camp to find out the truth about Muhammad from his followers. He recalled a tale that another prophet yet remained, so he was willing to believe in Muhammad's authenticity. However, he had thought that such a prophet would emerge from Syria as all the others had. When he finished talking to the Arab messenger, al-Muqawqas told him not to mention any of this to the Copts because if they found out that he had been talking to the Arabs they would be angry and cease to obey him. In a gesture of friendship he sent slave girls and other gifts to Muhammad along with guardians to safeguard the Muslims to

their own land (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 47, 50). After the invasion of Egypt, 'Amr ibn al- 'As sent people to negotiate with the Byzantine leader before the Muslims took the fortress of Babylon. 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit was the spokesman for the Muslims the day of the negotiations, and on the authority of Caliph 'Umar he offered the people of Egypt three choices: to submit and convert to Islam, to remain as they were and pay tribute, or to resist, and lose, and become slaves without land, according to Islamic custom, it was lawful for the Muslims to take everything from those who resisted.

Those around al-Muqawqas asked him what they should do. He said that he did not order them to convert because that would be detestable; he did not order them to fight because he knew that they could not withstand the Muslims. He recommended that they surrender and in that way they could worship as they wished and keep their lands and wealth. Although they would be subjugated in their own land they would secure their livelihoods and inheritance for descendants yet to come. However, al-Muqawqas's companions would not listen and ordered the cutting of the bridge that connected the mainland to the Island of Rawdah where they had fled for safety from the Muslim armies (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 69). It is clear from this description of events that al-Muqawqas tried to be realistic and get the best he could for the people; however, his followers would not listen. The emperor of Byzantium, Heraclius, was furious and could not believe that with their great numbers the Byzantines could not defeat the Arabs who were so few and had so few material assets. He reminded al-Muqawqas that even if the multitude of Copts did not want to fight, there was still the Byzantine army to save Egypt. The Arabs had twelve thousand men by this time, while the Byzantines in Alexandria alone were 100,000 strong, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. Heraclius declared that they had no other choice and ordered the Byzantine armies to oppose the Arabs in battle. In Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's version, al-Muqawqas did not accept those conditions. He said that he would not renege on the treaty that he had made, but that some Byzantines not under his

control might do so, and he begged the Arabs not to rescind the treaty because of them. He also specifically stated that the Arabs must not hurt the Copts because it was the Byzantines, not the Copts, who reneged. If the Byzantines were to make peace after the war, the Arabs should not reach a settlement with them until the Byzantines surrendered their lands (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 71-72). Other sources document the story of al-Muqawqas agreeing to a treaty so soon. Perhaps he saw the futility of resistance and tried to make the situation better, but the idea of him as defender and protector of the Coptic peoples is opposed to different versions in other texts.

In Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's view al-Muqawqas "surrendered" Egypt for the good of the population, including the Copts. He was portrayed as their hero, protector and leader. There is absolutely no mention of Cyrus' persecution, persecution by the other orthodox Byzantines of the Coptic Christians, or indeed any persecution. Not only was he a hero to the native Egyptians but to the Muslim Egyptians as well. He prevented excess bloodshed and brought Egypt under Muslim domain.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's portrayal of 'Amr ibn al- 'As reflected his attitude toward Egypt in general. His goal was to give precedence to Egyptian history, its conquerors and other historical figures. For modern historians his portrayal of 'Amr provided another aspect to his character, which has been demonized in the other historical works of this period. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's depiction of al-Muqawqas is puzzling, as he had no need to leave out the persecution of the Copts by the Byzantines and Cyrus. In fact, this would have helped the image of the Arab conquerors. Nevertheless, al-Muqawqas emerged as a hero for the creation of Muslim Egypt and for its populace by agreeing to negotiations.

VII. LEGAL ASPECTS

Background

As seen in the previous discussion, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work on the conquest of Egypt is one of the most detailed on the subject. Later Egyptian authors merely copy much of his work when dealing with early Muslim Egypt. Al-Maqrizi was one important historian who often quoted him. Al-Maqrizi's history of Egypt was one of the most complete and detailed, not just historically but geographically. He quoted Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam when he said, for example, that 'Amr ibn al- 'As argued with 'Umar that possession of Egypt would strengthen the Muslims (Butler, 1978, 195). Other historians contemporary with Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam were concerned with the larger scope of Muslim history and included Egypt as one portion of their work, for example, al-Baladhuri and al-Tabari. Al-Tabari obviously focused on the east, Iran and Iraq, where he had the greatest access to information. His section on Egypt is the briefest of his conquest sections. Thus, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work on Egypt is invaluable. Some of the most important information that he provides is on the treaties of Egypt, taxes, and other forms of tribute which are used by all who delve into the subject of the fiscal administration in early Islamic Egypt.

This section deals with the legal aspect of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work. Many scholars have pointed out his legalistic point of view to the detriment of the historian's craft.[1] They say he was not an historian in the modern sense of the word. Much of this argument centers on his emphasis on the legal question of whether Egypt was conquered by force or by treaty and what taxes the local population paid.

Many scholars of *hadiths*, like Joseph Schacht, believe that legal traditions in medieval chronicles are standards projected back from the medieval world into the conquest period.[2] These traditions were the result of Umayyad administrative practice and later scholars'

endorsement, modification, or rejection of these practices as recorded in their legal system. Schacht believed that the trends in the *hadiths* of many Muslim historians reflected an attempt to harmonize the political and intellectual developments of their own era to that of the conquest period (Schacht, 1967, 281, 329).

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam did not escape this scrutiny. Robert Brunschvig wrote an article about the North African conquest section of the *Futuh Misr*. Brunschvig claimed that many of the *hadiths* and the events that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam discussed in his narrative were used to mirror the problems that occurred in the *fiqh* of his day and to justify the solutions of his Maliki school by imposing *hadiths*, which supported his view, into the history of the conquest as a way to show their antiquity and thus validity (Brunschvig, 1942-1947). One example Brunschvig gave was that of 'Uqbah ibn Nafi', the Muslim conqueror of a large portion of North Africa. In one *hadith*, 'Uqbah sent a message inviting the Berbers of a certain area to accept Islam. Brunschvig said that in no other story of the conquests conducted by 'Uqbah was this aspect of conversion found; however, it was Malik's opinion that the non-Muslims should be invited to join Islam before any type of battle ensued (Brunschvig, 1942-1947, 120-21, 153). In Brunschvig's section on Egypt that technique of reflecting modern-day laws back to the past centers on the aspects of the conquest and its treaties and taxes. In this section of the dissertation, I will look at three aspects of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work that are prominent throughout: the idea of treaties, the question of whether Egypt was conquered by force or by treaty, and the *jizyah* and other taxes.

Treaties

Some scholars have argued that treaties at this time were not established pieces of literature; in fact, the earliest ones were probably simply verbal agreements. The written

texts of this period were not in a standardized form that could be used in the different areas of the conquests. These early terms of surrender probably depended on the particular situation of a specific area. Further, those "treaties" recorded by later historians such as al-Baladhuri or Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam are most likely from a later period. The standardized texts and stipulations suggest that they are the documents of the later Umayyad and 'Abbasid periods when the conquered areas were already settled. Nonetheless, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam did indicate a number of stipulations after major battles that could be construed as actual treaties or at least he made it appear as if they were actual treaties. However, in most cases he did not reproduce the form of an actual treaty as did al-Tabari. For example, after the siege and subsequent capture of the fortress of Babylon from the Byzantines, al-Tabari said, "The text of their peace treaty reads as follows..." and the following text detailed the specific requirements. The opening to the text claimed that this was the treaty that 'Amr ibn al- 'As granted the people of Egypt which concerned their livelihoods, wealth and property. Al-Tabari claimed that al-Zubayr, who was at the conquest, and his sons 'Abd Allah and Muhammad witnessed this contract and that Wardan, *mawla* to 'Amr ibn al- 'As, was also present to put the terms in written form (al-Tabari, *Conquest of Egypt*, 1989, 171-72).

In dealing with the conquest Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam talked about the three conditions of surrender already mentioned above. In general terms he argued that the obligation of the Egyptian population upon surrender was a tax on all men who had reached the age of puberty. This tax was not placed on women and children, or on sick or elderly men. At the same time the Arabs supposedly took a census to determine the amount of taxes they should receive. The number of taxpayers varies in the different accounts; two of these figures show either 600,000 or 800,000 Copts who would pay the tax (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 70). Upon the conquest of Alexandria, there were stipulations concerning the status of those who wanted to leave. Byzantine inhabitants not in the army

who agreed to surrender and wanted to stay could stay and pay the same amount as the Copts. Those who wanted to leave were permitted to do so (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 72). After the initial seizure of Alexandria, 'Amr ibn al- 'As left a force there to guard it. Those who fled returned and warred upon the garrison occupying Alexandria. 'Amr ibn al- 'As went back to Alexandria and took it by force, therefore implying that it was taken without a treaty. The *jizyah* over those in Alexandria was different from that in the rest of Egypt because of the resistance. The rest of Egypt paid two *dinars* per man while in Alexandria they paid whatever the governor felt was necessary at a particular point in time (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 80, 82).

By Force or by Treaty

The example of Alexandria as an exception brings us to another topic, that of whether Egypt was conquered by force or by treaty. As I have discussed, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam recorded stipulations of actual terms established with the Copts. Obviously he believed that at least some of Egypt was under treaty arrangement. However, he also received reports which stated that Egypt resisted and was conquered by force. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam felt that this was an important aspect of the conquest and devoted several pages to each *hadith* that supported either the claim of treaty or that of force. In one version, the *hadith* recounted an episode in which the Muslim army wanted a share of the conquered land, but 'Amr ibn al- 'As replied that he must write and get permission from 'Umar because dividing the land went against the treaty made with the Copts. The result was that 'Umar upheld the idea that the Egyptians pay two *dinars* apiece in exchange for their surrender and protection, but that Alexandria resisted and therefore was subject to the decision of the governor as to what he deemed necessary for payment (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 84).

A note on Alexandria complicates matters even further. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam noted a treaty with Alexandria in the section in which he detailed the Babylon treaty. The *Chronicle* of John, Bishop of Nikiu, stated clearly that although the Byzantine army was completely defeated, Caliph 'Umar gave Alexandria a treaty. 'Umar endeavored to give Alexandria *dhimmah* status so as to collect taxes owed by those under his protection and in order to preclude distribution of the land to the Arab conquerors, which, prior to the institution of the *diwan* system, was still practiced at this time. When the second conquest came in 645 as a result of the revolt, 'Uthman put down the rebellion but again restored the *dhimmah* status to maintain the revenue. A reason given for ignoring this information about a peace treaty concerning Alexandria was that the Umayyads wanted to make Egypt into conquered land in order to raise taxes at will and to confiscate and appropriate land for themselves and their followers. The early Muslims were thus driven by economics as opposed to ideology and so ignored the treaty and established *dhimmah* status for the populace of Alexandria.

The Umayyads, too, were driven by economic factors when they reversed the status from land under a treaty to land taken by force. Modern scholars of *hadith* assert that those *hadiths* indicating the conquest of Alexandria by force without a contract were created in the Umayyad period and were not authentic to the early Muslim period (Morimoto, 1981, 14-16; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 72). Nevertheless, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam presented all the different versions of the conquests and treaties that occurred in Egypt. Another example he gave to prove the theory that Egypt was conquered by treaty was a *hadith* that related the names of three individuals with whom the Copts made treaties. It was here that he actually listed the conditions of those particular treaties. Men would not be removed from their houses, their women, villages and lands were not to be taken, and the tax would not be increased more than what had been agreed upon. This treaty and its conditions are mentioned in various forms in the majority of *hadiths* in this section. 'Umar even returned captive Copts who had resisted and allowed them the status of *dhimmah*, and the protection

of the treaty was placed on those who had surrendered peacefully (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 85-86).

Of those *hadiths* that indicated that Egypt was conquered by force, several cited the same *hadiths* mentioned previously about 'Amr ibn al- 'As's reluctance to divide conquered territory. However, in these *hadiths* 'Umar gave him permission to divide it. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam also related various *hadiths* stating simply that Egypt was conquered without covenant or contract. The word of the *muhaddiths* was supposed to be enough to prove the claim. Some claimed that only a few villages had treaties because of their aid to the Muslims during the fighting, but the rest of the Egyptian populace resisted and were conquered against their will. One *muhaddith*, Ibn Lahi 'ah, said in his *hadith* that he could take one-fifth of the loot, his rightful share, if he wished and sell this property because these people and their property were fair game, as they had been conquered without a treaty. However, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam ended his discussion by relating a *hadith* that said some of Egypt was conquered by force and some by treaty and that 'Umar made it all *dhimmah* (protected), which continued in his own time (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 88-90).

Jizyah

In addition to the web of conflicting *hadiths* about the conquest and whether it was conquered by force or by treaty, there are a number of *hadiths* about the type and amount of *jizyah* and other taxes collected by the Muslims from the Copts of Egypt. These, like the *hadiths* about the conquest, are stated at various places in the text but never synthesized into a coherent body of analysis. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam never made clear which ones he felt were true or false or how the various *hadiths* might connect to one another to create a larger picture, though they seem separate. The following is a summary of the major aspects of the *jizyah* according to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam.

To begin with, he reiterated what he said in the sections on the conquest and the discussion of the treaties. Only men who had reached puberty, or those to whom "the straight razor went," would pay taxes at all (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 152). Women, children, and the elderly and sick were excluded from these duties. In his description of the treaties Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam had talked of a *jizyah* of two *dinar*s each, but also alluded to another rate for the wealthy. He said that each person who fell into this category owed forty *dirhams* or four *dinar*s. This suggests a graded tax system based on income.

All *dhimmis*, whether wealthy or not, had to provide other supplies as well. They owed not only a monetary amount but food items and other supplies and duties. Modern historians debate what these supplies and stock items were. From the *Futuh Misr*, we see that the Copts owed a certain amount of the staple crops to the Muslims. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam gave various figures for the amounts of these staples depending on the *hadith*s. For example, in one *hadith* each man owed two *midyan* of wheat and three *asqat* of oil. Another *hadith* stated that each man owed half an *irdabb* of wheat and two *waybah*s of barley. In all cases he was unsure of how much fat and honey they owed. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam also gave the amounts owed by the people of the Sawad in al- 'Iraq, perhaps as a comparison.[3]

In addition to tangible staples paid by the Copts to the Muslims for the latter's survival, the Copts also owed services to the Muslims. They were to provide cloth to the Muslims, as 'Umar had done, and they must guarantee hospitality to those Muslims who were forced to spend the night at the abode of a Copt. This duty of hospitality must extend for at least three days and three nights. He also mentioned that there could be an increase in the rates of taxation if the village prospered or a decrease if it suffered hard times. The idea of increasing tax or maintaining it as agreed upon in a treaty is prevalent throughout the work and reflects an intrusion of later Umayyad period traditions (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 150-53).

The idea of an increase or decrease of taxes leads us to how the *jizyah* was collected. In this early period it seems it was done mostly by the efforts of the local administrators, whom we know the Muslims used in the early period of their occupation of the Near East. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam discussed how the leaders made their collections and what taxes and other duties were distributed and where.

He said the village leaders discussed what they needed and what their resources were and then met with the leaders of the other villages. They discussed their capacities with each other and agreed to a percentage that each village would pay. The village heads returned and determined how much should be allotted for the village's needs in general and who should pay what amount. Those who could cultivate the land received more and paid more, while those who could not or would not had their burdens lessened. The village heads also determined the amount of staple foods the village had to pay. This system meant that the Copts were in charge of their own taxes. However, it is likely that the Muslim authorities who dealt at the local level requested a certain amount, perhaps in *dinar*s, and it was up to the villages to collect the taxes in their own way as long as they equaled the amount requested by the Muslims.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam reiterated that the wealthy were taxed at a higher rate. Also, a story about 'Amr ibn al- 'As implied that there was no set rate of taxation such as that indicated by the previously mentioned two-*dinar* limit. When a man of the Copts asked 'Amr how much he should pay; 'Amr pointed to the top of the pillar of the church and indicated that he should pay what would fill the church from the roof to the ground because the Copts were nothing but a treasury for the Muslims. These passages imply that there was no set treaty. Indeed, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam said, "Whoever holds to this *hadith*, holds to the fact that Egypt was conquered by force" (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 152-53). Like a true medieval historian, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam did not say whether this was true or false, but left it up to the reader to make up his own mind, thus satisfying everyone.

Because of the various conflicting *hadiths*, another topic that confuses the issue is Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's discussion about conversion and how it affected the *jizyah* and other taxes. In this section Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam had every possible scenario. In one place he said that if one converted to Islam, his land and house remained with him. A convert did not forfeit it to the village or to the Muslim community as a whole. In addition, Muslims or anyone else were allowed to buy anything a *dhimmi* sold of his property. This was lawful for the *dhimmis* as long as it did not conflict with paying the *jizyah*.

In another paragraph, he said that there were two *jizyahs*, one over the heads of men and one over a village as a whole which was assumed by the whole village. What these two *jizyahs* were and who paid them will be dealt with in the paragraphs following this summary of information about the *jizyah* in the *Futuh Misr*. For now, we see that the author called both *jizyah* and the issue of who paid these two *jizyahs* affected the various versions of *hadiths* that dealt with conversion of the *dhimmis*.

In one *hadith* Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam recorded that if someone died who paid the *jizyah* that was set over the village, then the village continued to pay the same amount because it was unaffected by an individual's death. In other words, the burden was not lessened for the village. If the *jizyah* was on the heads of men individually and someone died without an heir, his land and other property would go to the Muslims. Another *hadith* recalled that the Umayyad Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik, wrote to his governor in Egypt to make the relatives of a dead Copt pay the amount owed by the deceased. All these *hadiths* hold that Egypt was conquered by force, so that there was no agreement with the Copts to safeguard their livelihood. In other versions of the conquest of Egypt and subsequent tax systems, Egypt was conquered by a treaty and the lives of the Copts were safeguarded. Only the living continued to pay taxes. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam provided various *hadiths* regarding these treaties and their influences on the payment of the *jizyah*.

Another aspect of the *jizyah* was the matter of the conversion of the *dhimmis* and the rate of taxation. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam said that early on the *jizyah* was waived for converts because they were no longer in defiance, and thus the Muslims did not require this tax to prove their subjugation. However, he indicated that under the early Umayyads they tried to force the converted *dhimmis* to continue to pay the *jizyah*. Modern historians believe that the Umayyads declared that Egypt had been conquered by force in order that all the land of the converts could be given to the Muslim community in general; but possibly because of conversion and subsequent loss of revenue, the requirement of the *jizyah* on converts continued. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam stated, though, that forcing the converts to pay the *jizyah* was rejected in Egypt and renounced (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 153-56).

Finally, in the section in which 'Umar was trying to collect the money owed by Egypt to the Muslim state, the author specifically used the word *kharaj* instead of *jizyah* (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 156). What was this *kharaj*? Was it another word for *jizyah* or was it the land tax that it came to be known in the 'Abbasid period? This and other conflicts are what I will now discuss.

It is critical but difficult to make use of the information on the taxes in the *Futuh Misr*. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam seems to have conflicting views on the amounts of the *jizyah* and other taxes. Modern scholars of the early Islamic period use the information from the *Futuh Misr* to discuss the greatly debated topic of the terms *jizyah* and *kharaj*, and what the real taxes, of early Islamic provinces were.[4] In general there are two schools of thought. One group which began with the publication of the fiscal works of Caetani, Becker and Wellhausen, believed that the early Muslims did not recognize a distinction between what was called a poll tax (*jizyah*) and a specific tax on land (*kharaj*), as was recognized in the 'Abbasid period. They claimed that *jizyah* was a combination of both or of all taxes and duties collected from the non-Muslims. When a *dhimmi* converted, all of this revenue was lost because he did not pay any of these taxes. In addition they believed that the distinction in

terms, and thus in meaning of *jizyah* and *kharaj*, was imposed on the early history by later Muslim authors in the late Umayyad and early 'Abbasid periods. They imposed this linguistic distinction retroactively to legitimize their own legal systems and to create an orthodox code to justify the assertion that the code in current use went back to the revered ancestors of the conquest (Dennett, 1973, 3-4).

Further, they believed that the Umayyads feared the loss of revenue due to conversion and so imposed a stipulation that if one converted, his land went to the Muslims. Nevertheless, under the early policy of 'Umar the land of the *dhimmis* was untouchable. Also, part of the original inhabitants' land outside the peninsula had been granted to the Muslims. However, in the late 640s 'Umar changed this policy and said that the *dhimmis* were to keep their land; to compensate for this they were to pay a tribute to the Muslims to maintain and sustain them. This new policy, which came to be known as the *diwan* system, was probably practiced in Egypt, and as 'Amr ibn al- 'As had fought in Syria he was used to this system. In several of his *hadiths*, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam mentioned that the *dhimmis*' land was not to be touched if they made a treaty.

Modern historians argue that these ideas began to change under the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar II and that they became established by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's day. 'Umar II insisted that converts give up their land because conquered land was a *fay`* for the Muslims as a whole.[5] Here he reinterpreted the term *fay`* and redefined the conquest of Egypt by saying it was done largely by force, which accounts for the various *hadiths* on this subject in the *Futuh Misr* as in the case of Alexandria. This tax and land tenure system led to revolts by the populace, and by the 'Abbasid period it was altered once again so that the *dhimmis* paid a poll tax which they called a *jizyah* and everyone, regardless of their religion, paid a tax on their land called *kharaj*. Thus, one sees the development of the new concepts of *kharaj* and *jizyah* (Morimoto, 1981, 143-144).

Having established that the payment of *kharaj* and *jizyah* in the conquest era was an 'Abbasid incursion into the histories, scholars like Morimoto believed that originally the tax called *jizyah* was one *dinar* per person as it had been in the Prophet's lifetime and in Syria and the early Iraqi conquests. A tax on the land, assessed by the village heads and collected as a village tribute, was an additional tax. In addition, there were levies on foodstuffs that were determined by the Muslims's needs and not by acreage (Morimoto, 1981, 32-33, 41-3). However, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam clearly talked about a two-*dinar jizyah* on each person, including a tax called a *kharaj*. The two-*dinar* tax is imposed even in the earliest of treaties that he mentions, although in the early period only a one-dinar *jizyah* was required. Perhaps this two-*dinar* *jizyah* tax was really the one *dinar* placed on the individual Copts themselves and the extra *dinar* of tax for the tribute owed by the village. This might also explain the conflict in his *hadith*s over whether the *jizyah* was on the individual heads or on the village as a whole. However, in later Umayyad and 'Abbasid times the *jizyah* over the *dhimmis* was two *dinars*. If Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam really was trying to impose the policies of his day onto the conquest in order to legitimize the later policies, this would explain why he used this rate of tax in his history.

An opposing point of view concerning the terms *jizyah* and *kharaj* was expressed by Dennett in the 1950s. Dennett concurred with many of the arguments of Wellhausen and Becker, such as the types of taxes paid by the Copts of Egypt. They paid taxes on their land and on their person, and they gave a certain amount of shares and produce and other items of food to the Muslims. The amount was decided by an assessment of the village heads. However, Dennett argued strongly for the belief that even at that early date the idea of a separate land tax and head tax existed; it was not something imposed on early history by later medieval historians (Dennett, 1973, 114-15). Another argument between Dennett's theories and those proposed by Wellhausen and Becker concerns the translation and meaning of the word *jizyah*. Did it mean tax in general, or tribute? Both schools use

quotations from various medieval sources to analyze and support their theories, particularly those from Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history.

As mentioned above, the two *dinars* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history could be interpreted as a tax on the individual and a tribute on the village. The question is, what did Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam believe? What were his definitions of *kharaj* and *jizyah*? Throughout most of the work he uses the word *jizyah* when talking about the tax on the individual and on the land of the villages. However, in the section entitled "The Waiting of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab for the *Kharaj* from 'Amr ibn al- 'As," he obviously termed the tax, *kharaj*. This *kharaj* is based on the crops and their yield, but so too was the *jizyah* of the village discussed earlier. They seem to be the same thing, the general tribute owed by the Egyptians to the Muslim state. It seems that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's definition of the tax owed by the Egyptians fits with Becker and Wellhausen's theory that it was all combined into one major tax owed to the Muslim state. Morimoto believes that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam preserved some of the most "ancient" traditions about this conflict, but also that he used *hadiths* which modern historians have determined to be influenced by Umayyad policy, such as the idea of *fay*` land for the Muslims as a whole, and even the word *kharaj* which was not in use in the Prophet's day and is probably a legal term of later Muslim jurists. From the different *hadiths* that he recorded Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam has provided all views to the conflict over treaty versus force and the subsequent taxation system. However, like other Muslim historians he did not say which he really believed to be true, but left that up to the reader. Overall, he did not present the idea of a land tax and a poll tax as defined in the 'Abbasid age, but his picture of the tax system on the Copts seems to be one of a tribute made up of a number of taxes and other duties. The issue has been confused, however, because his history does include a great number of later beliefs and terms in his description of the conquest and the taxation system.

VIII. IBN 'ABD AL-HAKAM'S USE OF *HADITHS*

The confusion of the treaties and taxes in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's *hadiths* brings us to the last point in the discussion, which is the use of these *hadiths* in his writing. The first argument that modern scholars have against his work is that he was a jurist and theologian and not an historian. His *Futuh Misr* is organized around the *hadiths* that he collected or heard. Thus, the *hadiths* and their *isnads* are the focal point of the history, not any kind of analysis or hypothesis. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's use of *hadiths* is telling in another way, in that his choice of authorities and the *hadiths* themselves all point to an Egyptian bias. This was yet another attempt to raise the level of Egypt in the Muslim world, in this case in the intellectual world of Islamic scholarship.

Hadith/Isnad Background

Before examining Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's use of *hadiths*, I must give a brief summary of the development of *hadiths* and *isnads* as used in Muslim historical writing. Many Islamic scholars state that the idea of recording a saying of the Prophet and backing it up with a chain of authority to prove its authenticity was formalized a few decades after the death of the Prophet. One of the Islamic scholars, Juynboll, argued that the idea of *hadith* may have started immediately after the Prophet's death, but was not formalized until approximately one and a half centuries later (Juynboll, 1983, 21). To prove his point he gave evidence of the earliest Muslim communities' opinions on collecting and reciting these *hadiths*. He also emphasized that the early caliphs, among the first who embraced Islam, did not meticulously follow the example and rules of the Prophet. They ruled as they saw fit and according to what suited the situation of the time. The first *qadis* operated in this way as

well. Thus, the course set by Muhammad had not yet become synonymous with religious law (Juynboll, 1983, 14-7).

Juynboll pointed out that we have almost no *hadiths* based on the authority of the first three caliphs. Abu Bakr cannot be identified with *hadiths* in any extensive way, and both he and 'Umar seemed to have relied on their own judgment. When 'Umar did cite the example of the Prophet, he explicitly made the point that he was using it. On his death bed, for example, 'Umar made certain recommendations for the community which he stated were based on the example of the Prophet. 'Uthman does not have any transmission, legal or otherwise from the Prophet, save one. There are a number traced to 'Ali while he was in al- 'Iraq as caliph, but none while he served Muhammad and the others in al-Madinah. On his death bed, 'Umar named places where the Muslim community should look for answers to questions and problems, but the sayings of the Prophet were not included in that list (Juynboll, 1983, 14-17, 26-31). In fact, many believe that 'Umar himself and others were completely against collecting *hadiths* of the Prophet. He felt that the Islamic religion and its principles had not yet been fully established among the nascent community. He also feared that the early Muslims would deify the Prophet and people would start to worship him if they were allowed to collect and create traditions and to sanctify them. Thus, scholars say that he and others forbade the use and collection of *hadiths*. This ban proves to some scholars that the idea of collecting the Prophet's knowledge was already beginning under the first four caliphs.

The further development of the *hadiths* occurred during the *fitnahs*, or periods of discord and civil strife, such as the results of the murder of 'Uthman and the conflict among the various factions. In this period the parties argued over various problems, such as the conflict between 'Ali and Mu 'awiyah over succession, or between 'Abd al-Malik and the rival Hijazi party for power. The authenticity of the *hadiths* is often questioned because of the politics at stake. It was the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar II who first referred to

the *Sunnah* of the Prophet and ordered that these *hadiths* be compiled into a unified work. 'Umar II felt that the Muslims of Syria and even the Hijaz were too detached from their Muslim ancestors and were losing the correct ways of Islam. Therefore, he wanted to codify the *hadiths* and establish a systematic path for everyone to follow. He commissioned several prominent scholars who were already collectors and readers of *hadiths* to put these into authentic, organized and written volumes (Juynboll, 1983, 33).

Another modern scholar on *hadith* writing, Azmi, has argued that because of the Prophet's desire that his community be literate, the new religion took on a literate form early on with the advent of the written Qur`an. In the Battle of Badr Muhammad had literate prisoners teach his Muslim followers. In one *hadith* he is quoted as saying, "Teaching and writing is a duty of father to son." The Qur`an itself prescribes that transactions be written, and Muhammad had secretaries who wrote down things for him (Azmi, 1968, 3-4). Goldziher believed that the early Muslims outside of al-Madinah were becoming ignorant of the customs and traditions of Islam. Thus, the companions of the Prophet unintentionally started his biography. It did not start as an organized form of biographical writing but developed out of the number of sayings and actions collected by numerous companions in order to remember the Prophet and his guidance. And, as mentioned before, many of the *hadiths* probably came about as a result of political activities that made it necessary to justify one's stance in a given situation, or simply as a result of the distance of time from that of the Prophet and the loss of those who knew him personally (Azmi, 1968, 6-7). Originally the *hadiths* were just recited by companions and learned by followers of these well-known reliable lecturers.

This brings us to another point, the *isnad* or the chain of people reaching back to the Prophet that authenticated the story or *matn* that the *muhaddith* recited. This *isnad* was the key to the *hadiths* in this early period as well as later in the age of historical writing. The development of the *isnads* and the standards for who was deemed reliable were linked most

obviously with the various factions in the political upheavals of the early periods, and have thus been the focal point of the modern scholarship in dealing with the accuracy of Muslim chronicles. As time went on, the technique of orally teaching and transmitting *hadith*s became less common. More and more collectors began writing their *hadiths*, not necessarily in any organized form, but on papyri or whatever they could find. They transmitted their knowledge to students by dictating their *hadith*s and instructing the students to copy them down; in the process the students could ask questions. Often copies were reviewed and revised to correct mistakes. Students usually started their education with learning the Qur`an and then moved on to these early sayings of the Prophet (Azmi, 1968, 190-197).

Development of *Hadith* Centers

From this act of collecting *hadith*s emerged the different centers of *hadith*s, each with its own view of which were authentic and which *muhaddith*s were reliable. Authenticity of *hadith*s was one reason the collectors traveled and recorded so meticulously and also for the development of Arabic grammar, which ensured the proper reading of the Qur`an and the *hadith*s. As noted above, the question of authenticity arose from the conflicts between the various political factions throughout the ages. In the case of the *Futuh Misr*, the issue of authenticity was connected to the various economic policies of the caliphate (Nicholson, 1988, 342). Authenticity in regard to the proper Islamic path was also seen as a necessity by the judicial branch of the Islamic community. This led the Muslims of the eighth century to look back to the great figures of the past to establish the correct laws and the path of Islam (Azmi, 1968, 249-50).

The two major areas of *hadith* collection were al-'Iraq and the Hijaz, and each of these was divided into at least two sub-centers. In the Hijaz there was a Makkan and a Madinan

center, with al-Madinah claiming the larger number of *muhaddiths*. The most important player in al-Madinah was Anas ibn Malik, who later founded the Maliki sect of Islamic law. Another individual who transmitted in the Madinan tradition was the famous al-Zuhri. To transmit in the Madinan tradition meant that one adhered to certain styles and organization and also to certain criteria for the content of the *hadiths*, and, most important, for who was included in the *isnads*. These criteria differed between centers. Most of the famous *muhaddiths* of al-Madinah were Arabs who had great knowledge of *fiqh* and were known for a large number of *hadiths* (Juynboll, 1983, 40-42).

Egypt owed a great deal of its *hadith* development to the Madinan sources. Egypt was somewhat backward when it came to scholarly pursuits in the early Islamic periods. It was only under the Fatimids that it become a cultural center in its own right. Juynboll attributed this lack of *hadiths* to the fact that it took a long time for Egypt to grow Islamic roots, as discussed earlier in this analysis. The first to introduce traditions of any sort in Egypt was Yazid ibn Abi Habib. The first to compile a *hadith* collection in Egypt was Nu 'aym ibn Hammad ibn Mu 'awiyah (d. 848). Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used 'Uqbah ibn 'Amir, one of the most important Madinan *tabi 'i* to reside in Egypt, who was made governor by Mu 'awiyah in 664.[1] No one stands out in this early period among Egyptian *muhaddiths*. Their time would come later under people such as 'Abd Allah ibn Lahi 'ah (d. 790) and his pupil, 'Abd Allah ibn Wahb (d. 813). These two are considered the originators of *hadith* circulation in Egypt (Juynboll, 1983, 43-44).

The Iraqi tradition can be divided into two centers, each with a slightly different set of traditions: al-Basrah and al-Kufah. The Basran *muhaddiths* on the whole are highly controversial figures; nevertheless, the great collectors of the eighth and ninth centuries relied on them. Hasan al-Basri and Muhammad ibn Sirin (both died 728-9) are the most prominent.[2] Some doubted al-Basri's credibility, while others felt he was an early devoted Muslim highly sought after for his advice. As a result, he became known as an expert on

fiqh. Although he was not a collector of *hadiths*, his spreading fame caused people to attribute *hadiths* about the Prophet to him. In many cases these were probably just his sayings or opinions which scholars or collectors attributed to the Prophet based on al-Basri's authority. Indeed, many of the Basran *muhaddiths* were notorious forgers shrouded in mystery. One thing the Basran *muhaddiths* and others tended to do was to change the dates of death of figures in their *isnads* to make them appear older and closer to the time of Muhammad. Like al-Basri, many inserted Ibn Sirin's name into a transmission because he was a contemporary of al-Basri; a *muhaddith* of that age would help authenticate otherwise weak Basran *hadiths*. However, it was Ibn Sirin who is credited with drawing attention to the need or importance of developing some system of determining authentic *isnads* and *matns* as a result of the propaganda function of many *hadiths* during the civil wars (Juynboll, 1983, 48-51, 55-58).

The last center that I will discuss in the development of *hadith* compilation is the Kufan center. This city was the residence of the majority of the *tabi'is* and the most intellectually lively center of the empire. Many of their *muhaddiths*, however, "conveniently" died about three-quarters of a century after the Prophet, and were therefore suspiciously old, and they list at least three of the four *Rashidun* caliphs as sources. One of the most famous *muhaddiths* listed from the Kufan center was Abu Ishaq.[3] He was one of those who was believed to be the leaders of the Kufan center of transmission. Abu Ishaq and his privileged circle of scholars appear to have had some sort of authority over other *muhaddiths*, but how they gained such authority is indeterminable. Abu Ishaq had his own mosque where he gathered people for lessons. The eastern portion of Iran, Khurasan, like Egypt, obtained a transmission tradition later. One source says that only during the mid-ninth century did this tradition come into existence (Juynboll, 1983, 58-62).

Compilers of *Hadiths*

One of the first well known *muhaddiths* was a Madinan called 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (b. 646). He supported the Madinan faction against the Umayyads, but when 'Abd al-Malik took over and consolidated his reign, 'Urwa went to his court to make peace. He was treated well at the Umayyad court. He was one of the *fuqaha`* of al-Madinah, and his position and his relationships with others allowed him access to first-hand accounts. Nowhere in the sources available on early Muslim writings is it said that 'Urwa himself compiled an organized book on his *hadiths*. However, it is believed that most likely he collected and wrote down a number of *hadiths* as well as preserving a number of documents from the Prophet's career.

One point that is key in this very early period is that the early transmitters rarely named sources for their *hadiths*. Recognition of detailed sources was an idea that developed with the later political problems, the increase of *hadiths* in circulation, and the absence of first-hand eyewitnesses (Horovitz, 1927, 544-48). In fact, some modern scholars of *hadiths*, such as Schacht, believe that the later, more complete *isnads* are not to be trusted. Schacht claimed that *isnad* at the beginning of the *hadith* collection was rudimentary. In the medieval period, many *isnads* were created or enhanced as a result of political views and the polemical discussions of doctrines. They were projected back to higher authorities. An authority or link of a *tabi 'i* was changed to a link of a companion. Thus, Schacht believed one should look with suspicion on a *hadith* whose *isnad* contains a perfect linkage of successors and companions all the way to the Prophet (Schacht, 1967, 152-71). Morimoto espoused this same idea, applying it to the *isnads* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, as we will see later. *Isnad* was at its infancy in 'Urwa's day. His son Hisham and the famous al-Zuhri transmitted a number of his *hadiths*, which were used in the first historical works, such as those of Ibn Ishaq, al-Waqidi and Ibn Sa 'd (Horovitz, 1927, 550-51).[4]

Perhaps the most famous and renowned, yet most controversial of the *muhaddiths* was the Makkan al-Zuhri, one of the most celebrated *muhaddiths* of the Umayyad era. He studied with some of the foremost authorities on *hadiths*, including 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr and Aban ibn 'Uthman.[5] He reportedly mastered their knowledge and added his own to it. He was noted for his excellent memory, but the reason he was considered one of the most learned men of his time was because he wrote down everything he learned (Duri, 1957, 1-4).

Al-Zuhri's attention to historical detail was also important to future Islamic historians who used *hadiths* and their *isnads* to structure their histories . He observed chronological sequences in his work and gave dates of battles and deaths. His approach was that of a *muhaddith* acquiring knowledge and verifying it meticulously with *isnads*. He was criticized, however, for refusing to accept the word of a *mawla* over a Makkan or an Ansari (Azmi, 1968, 287). In his time a report from a *tabi'i* was sufficient as the final source in the *isnads*. However, he took his *isnads* a step further and combined single events and chained them together to produce a narrative form of writing.

In the struggle that occurred over 'Uthman, he viewed 'Ali's struggle against the Madinan faction and Mu'awiyah as justified, but he revealed Mu'awiyah to be more clever when he forced Hasan to abdicate, which gave Mu'awiyah more legitimacy. This could imply that he was not heavily influenced by politics. However, the controversy that surrounds al-Zuhri is the question of his relationship to the ruling Umayyad dynasty and its politics. He probably moved to Damascus in the reigns of Yazid II and Hisham I (724-743) and became a tutor to the Umayyad princes, often rebuking the future Caliph Walid II (743-744) for his excesses. The caliphs ordered that his collected traditions be written down and organized, which accounts for the quantity of his work found, or reportedly found, in the Umayyad archives. However, he had a stormy relationship with Caliph

Hisham as well, indicating that he was not dominated completely by Umayyad influence (Duri, 1957, 10-11).

'Abbasid chroniclers record that 'Abd al-Malik used al-Zuhri to justify the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in view of the occupation of Makkah by the opposition party. This is highly unlikely due to his age at the time of this caliph's reign, which would not have been more than twenty years of age. It is improbable that he would have earned so credible a reputation or that the caliph would entrust such an important and delicate task to one so young and unrecognized (Horovitz, 1928, II, 34-35). These two early examples show the trends in collecting and using *hadith*. The trend shifted from *hadith* maintained by memory to meticulous recording on paper such as that done by al-Zuhri.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and *Isnad* and *Hadith*

After this brief look at what *hadith*s and *isnad*s were and how they developed, I will now turn my attention to how Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used *hadith*s and *isnad*s in his day and how this affected and shaped his work. This section is divided into two parts, the first on his sources and use of *isnad*s and *hadith*s, and the second on some of the problems due to his *hadith* style and the criticism levied against him because of it.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's Sources

To understand Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's sources, I will look at mostly those *muhaddith*s from whom Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam received *hadith*s directly. Those people are often listed at the beginning of the *isnad*s; for example, 'Uthman ibn Salih on the authority of Bakr ibn Mudar on the authority of 'Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Ja 'far (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 85). They could also come in the middle or at the end of the *isnad*. One of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's

chief *muhaddiths* was Ibn Lahi 'ah (d. 790), who modern scholars who delve into the authenticity of *hadiths* view as notoriously untrustworthy. He was considered someone who valued quantity over quality (Torrey in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 6). Ibn Lahi 'ah traced his lineage to a family of the Hadramawt who settled with the Ghafiq tribe in Yaman. He was of pure Arab descent. His father was listed by the historian al-Suyuti (1445-1505) as one of the most famous *tabi 'is* of Egypt.[6] His family most likely came to Egypt with the Ghafiq during the conquest. He is said to have met seventy-two *tabi 'is* and to have written down his traditions on the spot (Guest in al-Kindi, 1912, 32). Torrey said he was known to have compiled books of *hadiths*, and the fact that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam sometimes used information directly from Ibn Lahi 'ah without intermittent authorities is evidence of a written source on Ibn Lahi 'ah's part (Torrey in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 3). Modern sources have based their skepticism of Ibn Lahi 'ah's credibility on the opinions of his contemporary *muhaddiths*. His rival, al-Layth ibn Sa 'd, viewed him as unqualified to transmit *hadiths* and as a supporter of 'Ali. Being a supporter of 'Ali was cause enough to question his authority at that time, because politics affected the authenticity of *hadiths* and being a *Shi 'i* supporter was not considered politically correct by the majority of Muslim scholars. However, others such as Ibn Wahb, whom Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used frequently, found his transmissions legitimate. Modern scholars cite the haphazard way in which he collected *hadiths* as a reason to discredit his authority. He is also accused of tampering with *isnads* and taking credit for *hadiths* that were not his own (Guest in al-Kindi, 1912, 32).

Al-Layth ibn Sa 'd (d. 800) was another from whom Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam drew heavily. Most of his contemporaries and later scholars viewed him as more reliable than Ibn Lahi 'ah, and his works were voluminous in written form. One book that we know of was called *Kitab al-tarikh*. Al-Layth was a client of the Fahmi tribe. His real family was native to Isfahan but he was probably born in Egypt. He was known for his affluence, kindness

and liberality. Guest said that he was the most learned man of the Muslims and the most eminent in Egypt during his day (Guest in al-Kindi, 1912, 29). He traveled all over greater Syria, where he met fifty-nine *tabi 'is* from whom he collected numerous *hadiths*. The governor, al-Walid ibn Rifa 'ah, gave him the position of executor when al-Layth was only twenty-four. The executor worked with the governor. Al-Walid ordered his colleague not to make any decisions without consulting al-Layth ibn Sa 'd. Later, al-Layth was given the position of official consultant to the Egyptian governors and thus he earned the favor of the 'Abbasid caliphs. The founders of three of the *Sunni* schools of law, Malik, al-Shafi 'i, and Ibn Hanbal, praised him. He did not suppress intermediaries in his traditions, a practice that signified integrity and reliability. In some cases he relied on only his memory to preserve *hadiths*, which by his time was regarded as unusual (Guest in al-Kindi, 1912, 29-30).

Yazid ibn Abi Habib (d. 746) was regarded by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam as a valuable source for early Muslim history in Egypt. Yazid was a Nubian client of the al-Azd tribe after his father had been taken in the raid of 652. He was brought up as a slave but later given his liberty by his patron. He is said to have met 'Abd Allah ibn al-Harith al Jaz` (d. 707), the last companion of the Prophet to survive in Egypt. Yazid was believed to be the foremost authority on religious law and was one of the first in Egypt to expound the need for a regular system of doctrine in order to establish what was permissible (Guest in al-Kindi, 1912, 34-35; Chaudry, 1994, 89).

'Uthman ibn Salih (d. 835) was Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's main authority for historical events. It is his name that is given at the beginning of new paragraphs when the author writes, "We now return to the *hadith* of 'Uthman." He was also used as an intermediary source (Torrey in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 7). 'Uthman ibn Salih was a *qadi* of Egypt and a *muhaddith* of some note.

Ibn Wahb (d. 813) was used extensively by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam as well. Ibn Wahb was a Qurayshi, a famous and distinguished lawyer, a *muhaddith* and disciple of Malik. He died while learning at the side of Malik in al-Madinah. Being of the Maliki school, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam would naturally lean towards an authority with the same background and traditions. Ibn Wahb was pressured to become a *qadi* in Egypt in 812, but managed to refuse the position.

Two other chief authorities of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam were Ibn Bukayr and 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah. Ibn Bukayr was the *muhaddith* noted in relation to the history book that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam mentioned in the text (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 129-130). Maslamah was not a well-known *muhaddith,* but did make collections of *hadiths* that were both extensive and well organized.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's Use of *Hadiths*

By looking at these major *muhaddiths* one can see that the most striking aspect of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's major authorities is that they are all Egyptian. We have seen that his goal throughout the text was to put Egypt on the historical map of Islam. Here we see that he is quite obviously trying to elevate Egypt's standing in the legal and religious fields as well by promoting the Egyptian *hadith* tradition.

It is interesting to examine how Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used his *hadiths* to shape his narrative. In most cases, one or two generations are still missing in his *isnads* between the first *muhaddiths* and the days of the conquest. Does this raise a question as to the validity of his information? As seen in the discussion of 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr, the earliest compilers were not scrupulous with their *isnads*. In his analysis of *hadiths*, Morimoto said that a gap in the chain indicates a high value as a source because later generations, meaning Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's generation, did not deem it necessary to tamper with the *isnads* by

filling in the gaps to create a stronger tradition. They viewed it as trustworthy (Morimoto, 1981, 8; Schacht, 1967, 165).

Not all of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's chains are considered so authoritative. For example, the chain of al-Hasan ibn Shufayy to al-Hasan ibn Thawban to Musa ibn Ayyub and Rishdayn ibn Sa 'd to Hani` ibn al-Mutawakkil generates doubt to some because these are not well known *muhaddiths* and some of them do not appear in very many of the *hadiths* in the *Futuh Misr* (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 82). Despite this, when Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam cited his *hadiths*, in most cases it was with a full *isnad*, even though some *muhaddiths* were not be well known. When giving various versions of an event he did not combine them, but listed each *isnad* and subsequent *matn* separately making for a longer more tedious passage stylistically. Occasionally he expressed doubt about one of the links in his *isnads*, but he almost never gave his opinion as to whether his *hadiths* were genuine, fair or untrustworthy.

Only a few times in the conquest section did he express doubt over a *hadith*. In one instance concerning the property of Egypt he indicated that most of the *hadiths* were probably not true. The *hadith* was about Muhammad's prediction of the conquest of Egypt: he predicted it, told the conquerors to treat the inhabitants well, and then talked of two brothers quarreling over land in Egypt. This quarrel between the brothers is the questionable part of the *hadith* (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 109). However, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam did not say that this was in doubt, but used the opinions of two of his trusted authorities to question the *hadith*. He was reluctant to allocate blame by himself and provided all the historical information so as to allow the reader to judge for himself.

Sometimes Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam did not know the *isnads* for his texts and so used "it is said" or "they said". These words occurred often in the *khitat* section, but in this case it was more likely that no *hadiths* were used. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam simply obtained the information from the local inhabitants' memories, and, as they were not learned men, did

not deem it necessary or appropriate to quote on their authority. It is possible that during the author's time, many of the original streets and old houses were still in existence in al-Fustat and that there were still inhabitants who remembered the origins and sources of the properties and their history (Kubiak, 1987, 20-21). The only time *isnads* were cited in the *khitat* section was when he dealt with some religious or judicial aspect or some important figure of Egyptian history. For example, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used an *isnad* when telling one of the stories about the House of Pepper which involved the question of who owned the pepper and its revenue (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 99).

Finally, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used the word *al-thiqah* in place of specific names.[7] This is a warning signal to scholars who deal with the authenticity and authority of *hadiths*. Why did he not just name the authorities? Was he lazy or was this *hadith* so well known that it did not require clarification? We do not know definitely, however, given Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's strict adherence to the chain of the *hadith* in previous sections of his work, it seems likely that he did not know specifically from the information was received. Nevertheless *al-thiqah* occurs, although infrequently, in the work of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used *hadiths* as his main organizer. He placed similar traditions together to create topics for his history. One sees, for example, groups of *hadiths* about the letters Muhammad sent to the kings of the Near East or of *hadiths* relating to the conquest of Egypt by force, or of those pertaining to the horses of Egypt. By using *hadiths* in this fashion he created a narrative that was not based on year by year accounts, as were those of some of his contemporaries, but on topics that were organized by the available *hadith* literature. Sometimes in this style of narrative a *hadith* was inserted because it related to a certain character being discussed. The problem modern scholars have with this phenomenon is that it makes the text disjointed. *Hadiths* that do not have anything to do with the subject at hand were inserted in the middle of the narrative. For example, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam discussed the two slave girls that al-Muqawqas sent to Muhammad before

the Arab invasion of Egypt. He noted who their sons were, among other things, but in the middle of this discussion he inserted a *hadith* based on the authority of Sirin, one of the slave girls mentioned in the *hadith* itself. The *hadith* had nothing to do with the issue of the slave girls but concerned the death of Ibrahim, Muhammad's son. He followed this *hadith* with one about a feud between two men over who insulted whom. This seems even further off the subject than Sirin's *hadith*, but in the reconciliation of the two men the reader discovers that one of the settlements involved a Coptic slave girl named Sirin who was given as tribute, thus bringing us back to the original topic (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 47-48). The *hadith* on the authority of Sirin served the purpose of providing a name for this slave girl.

This type of interruption could be annoying and in questionable style to modern readers who are used to topical histories. To modern readers Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work does not seem to measure up because it was not so much the historical material as the *hadith*s that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam emphasized. However, his work was organized around *hadith* topics and recording *hadith*s was his main goal. Al-Baladhuri and al-Tabari, two of the greatest Muslim historians by modern accounts, also use this interrupted narrative style. Al-Baladhuri named *hadith*s but did not make them into any kind of running commentary about the subject. One example was the information on the assistance al-Zubayr supplied to 'Amr ibn al- 'As at Babylon. In addition, al-Baladhuri inserted a portion on the division of land which occurred after the battles, after which he returned to the *hadith*s about the conquest. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam placed this bit of information in a separate section entitled "*khitat* ." In that respect, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history is more topically oriented than al-Baladhuri's. Al-Baladhuri simply inserted the *khitat* information where it corresponded to the person that he talked about in the conquest section of his history (al-Baladhuri, 1966, 337-38). In the same vein, the insertion of Sirin's *hadith* in the *Futuh Misr* fits with the discussion of Sirin herself and was probably seen as an appropriate insertion. This same

pattern is very common in the discussion of property where Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam would interrupt the flow of the description of property to talk about a *hadith* of one of the owners of the property. The *hadiths* often had nothing to do with ownership, land, or property.

Not all of his inserted *hadiths* interrupt the topic, although at times they do interrupt the flow of the text. For example, in the discussion on the delineation of property around the congregational mosque, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam mentioned a man named Qays ibn Sa 'd who had been governor of the province and built a house. Later, he regretted building the house near the mosque because he said it was built by the Muslim taxes and it should belong to them. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam then gave a *hadith* based on Qays' authority, that dealt with the idea of ownership and property (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 98-99). These "interruptions" may seem to be just that to us in this modern day and age, but to medieval readers this was the current style and probably seemed perfectly logical and informative.

Sometimes an inserted *hadith* or piece of information provided by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam will seem trivial, as if he could not distinguish important information. However, the idea of important information is relative. What is important to us may not be to those of another place or time. When Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam related the conquest of Alexandria, he devoted several *hadiths* to the disobedience of several Arabs who did not wait for the orders of the commander before they raised their arms and were killed. The commander cried and his companion asked why he was crying, since those Arabs had died in battle and so became martyrs. The commander replied that the Prophet had said that the disobedient would not enter paradise (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 77). This may seem trivial and an interruption of the battle narrative and of the "facts," but the focus on religion was important in the medieval period, especially in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work, as we have seen. Thus, items like this provide insight into the mentality of the time and of the author himself.

Conflict of *Hadiths*

Since Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history was arranged around the knowledge of *hadiths* he did not use just one as a source for his narrative. In all cases he used several different *hadiths* either of similar or contradictory nature, depending on the event. In one example he offered several *hadiths* from different sources saying that Ibrahim would continue the rest of his nursing in heaven (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 52). The wording and minor details of these *hadiths* varied, but they all agreed on the main points. The provision of mutually confirming evidence was a way to indicate that something was true without saying so outright. At other times he related conflicting versions of events or facts, which is telling because it indicates his awareness of different points of view and the need for proof of authenticity. The problem modern scholars have is that there is no analysis of his own view on these conflicting events. A major portion of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history involved the question of whether Egypt had been conquered by force or by treaty. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam gave several versions to support both sides. In this context and others he did not make any definite statements about which version he believed was correct. The only opinion he had to offer in dealing with the conquest problem was a vague one without analysis of the various *hadiths*. He stated at the end of the conquest discussion that some of Egypt was conquered by force and some by treaty, which is obvious from the various *hadiths* he had presented, and that 'Umar made it all *dhimmah* and it "continues today" (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 90).

Nonetheless, it is possible to weigh the evidence that he gives and come to a possible conclusion as to his belief about the conquest based on the number of *hadiths* for each side and on the tone of the narrative. Although he gave the *hadiths* that espouse conquest by force, his *hadiths* on the peace treaties seem to outweigh them. He definitely believed that certain villages may have been forcefully subdued and that Alexandria was conquered by

force, although a footnote leaves that in question. Despite this, the reader can conclude that he believed that Egypt and its people received a treaty and therefore, we can assume, followed treaty obligations and taxes. He stated outright that Egypt was all *dhimmah* and that that was how it stood in his day. However, like so many medieval writers, he left the analysis of the material up to his reader and gave the modern historian the task of examining the work in detail to discover his motives and opinions. His usual response to conflicting *hadith*s was, "only God knows." Indeed, if he believed that most of Egypt was under a treaty situation, then his discussion of the taxes of the *kharaj* and *jizyah* is difficult to reconcile. The two-*dinar jizyah* and the use of the words *jizyah* and *kharaj* are reflections of the taxes of his own time as developed from Umayyad and 'Abbasid policies. Thus, the study of authenticity of *hadith*s not only involves politics, but economic influences as well.

The lack of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's analysis of the conflicting *hadith*s, however, fits the form of his history, which is based on combining *hadith*s. There is no cause and effect between the various topics of his history. Thus, there is no need for a discussion of what is correct, because one topic does not necessarily tie into another portion of his history. Although the various topics do relate to each other somewhat, he treated each section of his *Futuh Misr* as a separate entity. A problem arose when a controversial issue in one section cropped up again in another. The best example is, again, the problem of whether Egypt was conquered by force or by treaty. The issue was left open-ended, but it came up again in the discussion on the *jizyah* and other taxes. The types of taxes and other obligations that the Copts owed related directly to the idea of force or treaty. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam related all the conflicting reports without analysis, leaving the reader to decide for himself which was correct.

Conflicting *hadith*s apparently led to problems in chronology and accuracy of events, as far as modern scholars are concerned; however, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam may not have seen a

conflict, and medieval readers may have known the correct chronology, at least as they believed it. In *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, the well known historian on early Islam and the late antiquity period Alfred J. Butler detailed the confusions not only in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work, but in the other sources on the Egyptian conquest, in order to sort out the murky time line. One of the major points of confusion in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work and thus of subsequent writers on Egypt concerned the invasions of Alexandria. In the text, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam talked of the second conquest of Alexandria, when 'Amr ibn al-'As went back after the garrison left and encountered troubles. Butler said Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam confused this, which was the first conquest, with the second conquest of 645. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam talked about how the Copts helped the Arabs on the day of the conquest in 641, but Butler said this statement was better placed with the story of the conquest of 645. He stated that there was no real siege or battle in the first conquest of Alexandria and that Arab historians confuse it with the second. Butler accepted the version of only a few historians, such as al-Suyuti, on this matter.

This confusion is typical of the style of Arab writers in general. Al-Baladhuri mentioned the first conquest and the treaty between the Arabs and al-Muqawqas, but his narrative of events was very different from that in the *Futuh Misr*. Al-Baladhuri's "second conquest" was placed in 645 and was led by the revolt of Manuel.[8] However, in a later section he listed "another" conquest of Alexandria under the reign of 'Uthman. I cannot tell whether he considered these to be two separate events or if he was merely naming them twice. One conquest is listed under "Manuel Captures Alexandria" and the other a few paragraphs later is called "The Second Conquest of Alexandria" (al-Baladhuri, 1966, 347, 351).

In al-Tabari the names of the Byzantine ruler of Egypt are confused. Al-Tabari gave several names under the years 640-641. One name he gave was Balhib, who offered negotiations because, according to al-Tabari, he believed that the Egyptians used to pay

more to the Byzantines and Persians and thus had nothing to lose by surrendering to the Arabs. Later, al-Tabari specifically called Balhib the ruler of Alexandria. In another passage, al-Tabari mentioned al-Muqawqas and two Christian prelates who were to negotiate with the Arabs. In yet another section he mentioned al-Muqawqas, whom he called Farqab. Al-Tabari said Farqab led an attack on the Muslims and was killed. When trying to decipher the information given by al-Tabari concerning al-Muqawqas, the question is whether this Farqab is the same man mentioned earlier who was negotiating a treaty (al-Tabari, *Conquest of Egypt*, 1989, 165-69).

Furthermore, from Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and others there is confusion over what Babylon really was. The fortress of Babylon and a town called Misr in al-Tabari's history and in other medieval chronicles were often confused; the place of 'Ayn Shams (Heliopolis) was often confused with Babylon as well (Butler, 1978, 23, 232, 295-96). Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam identified a fortress called Babylon and a town around it, although he did not name the town. Al-Tabari talked of the fortress of Babylon in addition to a city called Misr (al-Tabari, *Conquest of Egypt*, 1989, 167-169).

Finally, Butler criticized Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam for being a romantic who mingled fantasy with history. He blamed Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam for many of the myths circulating in Egyptian history, such as the previously-mentioned story of the capture of 'Amr ibn al- 'As in the fortress in Alexandria. 'Amr and his companions were trapped, but they made a bargain to duel one of the Byzantines in order to win their freedom. If the Arab participant won, the Arabs would go free. 'Amr ibn al- 'As and his companions were freed, and it was only after their release that the Byzantines realized that they had been holding the commander of the Arab forces without knowing it. Butler said that this story was a catch or stock story repeated numerous times in earlier texts about various places during the conquests, such as al-Gazah or Damascus.

The use of stock stories or phrases is defined as literary topoi in historical circles dealing with Muslim historiography. Albrecht Noth, a scholar of Muslim *hadith* and historiography, went so far as to say that many of the events described by the medieval Islamic historians were actually schematic and acted like standard law contracts where one inserts the appropriate names and places for the situation; for example, a siege of a city involved scaling a wall, shouting distractions or having a traitor open the gate (Noth, 1994, 19-23). Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam did use all of these elements in his discussion of the sieges of Babylon and Alexandria, but this does not necessarily mean that events did not happen as he recorded. The possible existence of stock stories is something to be aware of, but even if these stories are inserted into a narrative they can still provide us with historical information, such as information about the author and his time. Lawrence Conrad, another scholar of *hadith*, mentioned this phenomenon in relation to the numbers given during the conquests. Numbers were often rounded off and given in multiples of ten, particularly the common number of forty. In the *Futuh Misr*, four thousand grocers and places of entertainment and forty thousand Jews were counted after the victory in Alexandria. Conrad suggests that numbers such as these simply mean "many," as they are multiples of forty, which he argues is a symbol for an indeterminate large number in many cultures of the ancient Near East (Conrad, Abraha, 1987, 230).

Butler also claimed that it was Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam who started the "fairy tale" that the Copts rushed to help the invading Arabs. 'Amr ibn al- 'As had troubles in the north before the surrender of Alexandria, which indicates that the Copts did not whole-heartedly side with the Arabs from the beginning (Butler, 1978, 295-98). Nonetheless, the anecdotes and *hadiths* which Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used built up and glamorized Egyptian history and its people for many of the later historical works on Egypt. Many of these "fairy tales" created a prestigious history for Muslim Egypt, and many, such as the aid the Copts gave to the Muslims, became ingrained in the history of Egypt in future generations.

After looking at the ways in which Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used *hadith*s and the ways he organized them, I think it is fair to say that in his own way he acknowledged various points of view. His versions of the conquest of Egypt by treaty or force display this perfectly. He did not simply give one version, but recognized many versions which were often conflicting. Further, he acknowledged this conflict by declaring that "only God knows." It is a typical attribute of the medieval Muslim historian to let the reader decide what is right. Al-Tabari was a master of this system. He would divulge several *hadith*s on the same subject or event, all of them conflicting, and then let the reader decide. In each case, the reader could see his or her point of view in one of the *hadith*s and so take with him the knowledge that history was as he or she believed. Al-Tabari skillfully satisfied everyone (Hodgson, 1974, 353). From the modern point of view the conflicting *hadith*s on this point reflect the medieval writers' attempts to impose their own situation on the past in order to legitimize their policies by showing that they were continuations from the days of the earliest Muslims.

Finally, that which stands out most about Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's use of *hadith*s and his choice of *hadith*s in compiling his history is his emphasis on Egypt and its historical figures, as well as on the religious figures of his own day, such as the *muhaddith*s. The major *muhaddith*s for his work are Egyptian, not from other areas of the empire. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam was indeed trying to bring Egypt to the forefront of religious scholarship.

IX. CONCLUSION

After this analysis, how can we summarize the *Futuh Misr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam? We have seen that he focused on the religious nature of the conquest and the conquerors. The Arab commanders and soldiers, despite worldly failings, were upheld for their piety and devotion to the path of Islam. One recalls the horseman who refused to be distracted by the worldly goods of his Byzantine enemies, or those soldiers who did not heed the words of their commander and who were sent to Hell because the Prophet had said that one who disobeyed would not become a martyr (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 77). In contrast to the Muslims, the Byzantines seemed too concerned with their luxurious trappings to bother fighting. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam even put such words into the mouths of the Byzantines themselves. Al-Muqawqas said, "We are a people who dislike death and prefer life and its pleasures" (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 71). The message was the inevitability of the triumph of Islam due to the piousness of its soldiers. Islam would create a new phase in the history of the world. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam even quoted 'Umar as saying that Islam destroys what was before it.

The second major theme of his work has to do with Bedouin life. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam relished the simplicity of the Bedouin, or rather, the pre-Islamic way of life. He related the simplicity of their clothing, which is also an early Muslim attribute, and even their rough table manners when dining. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam took pride in the horsemanship of Egypt's conquerors, to the point of including an appraisal of the individual horses of the Muslim conquerors and the horses' lineage in Egypt. This is a reflection of his Arab background; it may also be a reaction to the decline in the prestige of the Arabs and their history in the empire and the rise of the *mawali* and *dhimmis* into positions of power and in the literary circles. One can view his focus on the purity of the Arab conquerors and their way of life as a rebuke to the new luxury and magnificence of the 'Abbasids and their governors in

Egypt in comparison to the piousness and egalitarianism of the early Arab conquerors (Khalidi, 1994, 65-6).

In regard to things unique to Egypt, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam consistently displayed a pride in things Egyptian whether it be the wealth of the countryside or the Muslim figures of "Egyptian" history. He was very proud of the history of Muslim Egypt, beginning with its conquest and was forever trying to show the involvement of certain characters in major events. The best example is 'Amr ibn al- 'As, who emerged from the pages of his history as the hero of Muslim Egypt. It was 'Amr ibn al 'As who instigated, albeit craftily, the entrance into and eventual conquest of Egypt for the Islamic community. After the conquest it was 'Amr who fought for the rights and wealth of the Egyptian community; from the text it seems he fought for both Muslim and Copt because he was concerned that they would not be able to harvest their crops in time to provide for the required levy. He was chided by Caliph 'Umar for putting the interests of the Egyptian Muslim community over the interest of the Hijaz.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam presented all points of Muslim history from the Egyptian standpoint. One example is the drought in the Hijaz in the years immediately following the conquest of Egypt. He focused on how it affected Egypt and its people. He also took pride in pointing out buildings or other landmarks, man-made or otherwise, that were associated with great figures of Muslim history. Some excellent examples of this are the Muqattam graves of the first Muslim inhabitants, or the estate in Egypt of Ibn Sandar, an important figure in connection with the Prophet's history.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam considered both the history of Egypt and the transmitters of this history as a major part of the greater Islamic history. One can see this throughout the text on the conquest of Egypt. His major sources were Egyptian *muhaddiths*. The conquest of his native land was based on these native scholars, not on "outsiders" from al-Madinah or al- 'Iraq, such as Sayf ibn 'Umar (d. 796) of al-Tabari.[1] Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam also explicitly

pointed out the companion-conquerors of the Prophet and the Arabs of other tribes that came during the conquest and settled in Egypt. He also listed those who resided in Egypt who were present at the Battle of Badr, one of the most prestigious battles of Muslim history (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1922, 92-96).

From this summary of themes presented in the *Futuh Misr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam one can draw two important conclusions about his work. The first is his commitment to the Islamic world in general. He was trying to bring Egypt into the larger Islamic world and to show its importance in this larger Muslim history. Until the Tulunid period, Egypt remained politically and even culturally backward. Under the later Arab governors and the strong Turkish governors beginning in 856, Egypt began to challenge the 'Abbasid authority for more autonomy. Egyptian governors continually withheld taxes owed to the 'Abbasid government and in many instances refused orders from Baghdad. One example was Ibn Tulun, who simply refused to leave Egypt in spite of being recalled. Under Ibn Tulun and his successors, Egypt officially gained autonomy from Baghdad in 879. Although the official autonomy of the Tulunids in 886 came after the author's day, during his lifetime the strong governors did show sparks of defiance and independence toward Baghdad. Perhaps it was also Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's goal: to declare the importance of Egypt and place it on the map as an entity to be reckoned with.

In addition, his focus on the Arab character of the conquest could be a reflection of the pinch felt by Arabs in the early 'Abbasid empire from the non-Arab subjects, and conversely, his unhappiness with Turkish rule. Indeed, during Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's adult life Egypt was ruled by Turkish governors, many of whom disliked the Arabs and made efforts to favor the Copts at their expense. Also, even by his day, three centuries after the Muslim conquest, the Islamization and Arabization had started to take hold and a newe class or "race" of Muslims was developing, displacing the old Arab elite. As an Arab of noble standing surrounded by this other culture and faced with the possibility of a further

decline in Arab prestige and importance, he may have found this situation the driving motive for the *Futuh Misr* and seen it as an attempt to renew the importance not only of the Arabs in the Muslim world, but of Egypt's Arabs and their standing in the larger Muslim world.

Secondly, by focusing on Egypt in relation to the rest of the Muslim world, he became an Egyptian historian. His contribution to the history of Egypt itself is enormous. He is one of the earliest writers on this period and, more to the point, he concentrated completely on Egypt, with minor sections on North Africa or the west, allowing for greater detail than provided in the world histories of his contemporaries. Indeed, he provided details that much later authors passed over. For example, Ibn Khaldun simply stated that Egypt was conquered because 'Umar gave permission to 'Amr to invade it. There is no mention of the politics and technical posturing involved between 'Umar and 'Amr over this situation (Mazzaoui, 1993, 170).

One of his greatest contributions to our understanding of the conquest period and to the view of this period in his own day is the information he provided concerning whether Egypt was conquered by treaty or by force, and the tax systems that emerged as a result. Modern studies on the legal field of the Islamic world, show that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's *Futuh Misr* is one of the single most important works in sorting out this puzzle with regard to Egypt. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam included various *hadith*s about that subject. He himself did not know the real facts, or so it seems, but he related all views, however contradictory they may have been. Modern historians use these early texts, especially the evidence in the *Futuh Misr* dealing with Egypt proper, to distinguish between "ancient" *hadith*s or conquest-period *hadith*s and those inspired by later policies. The *Futuh Misr* also gives us an initial reference point for the structure and layout of early al-Fustat which is enhanced by archaeological research. Overall, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam provided substantial data for the early history of Egypt, much of which is not found anywhere else.

Therefore, one must ask what is Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's contribution to our understanding of history? Through his pride in Bedouin or early Arab lifestyle one can see the conflict in society over Arab versus non-Arab Muslims and *dhimmis* that was significant in the early 'Abbasid period. The traditionally powerful Arab families were losing prestige and power particularly to the *mawali* and the Turkish troops of the empire. The non-Arabs had gained an upper hand in the politics and literature of the Islamic world. The *Shu 'ubiyah* movement put both the achievements of the non-Arabs (*mawali* and *dhimmis*) and their past on the map and the Arabs on the defensive. Many Arabs of this period felt that they were the owners of Muhammad's message of Islam and that that ownership elevated their status (Duri, 1983, 22). Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's *Futuh Misr* certainly reflects this belief through its pride in the Arab character and achievements in Egypt. However, he focused this pride on specifically Egyptian historical figures and on Egyptian transmitters of history and *hadiths*. This reflects a goal that the ninth-century historians in general pursued, which was to show how the conquests after Muhammad naturally followed the promise of God to His Prophet, and thus were extensions of the *maghazi* of the Prophet (Khalidi, 1994, 65; Jandora, 1997, 21-22).[2] The *maghazi* of the Prophet were vague narratives that depicted the raids as anonymous undertakings. Their aim was to show that God ensures victory and the Muslims collectively could carry out his designs. No one person deserved individual glory.

The later *futuh* or conquest histories focused on individual leadership and certain tribes as a way to glorify these people. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history was what Humphreys called a history of hope, that redemption and glory for the Muslim community could come again for the future after the turmoil of the *fitnahs* and other social problems. In Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's case this hope seems more for the redemption of the Arab community and the rise of the Egyptian Arab community, for it occurred on the Egyptian stage and with Egyptian characters (Humphreys, 1989, 281).

The *Futuh Misr*, then, is also an example of the regional history that was developing in the ninth century side by side with the world histories of al-Tabari or al-Baladhuri. Regional or local histories developed at this time and continued throughout the centuries of the Muslim dynasties. A good deal of the impulse for such histories grew out of theological-juridical considerations. Conquests were useful in providing jurists with precedents that enabled them to determine the fiscal and administrative status of a particular area. Pride in one's city or country was also a factor in regional history. Ibn Hazm (994-1064) of Spain bemoaned the lack of historical works by Spanish Muslims dealing with Spain itself (Rosenthal, 1968, 150-63). Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam had the motives to glorify his homeland and to justify current legal conditions; focus on the legal matters in conquest-period Egypt gave his work an administrative motive.

Finally, his work, as a staging ground for Arab pride and for placing the Egyptian historians and historical figures on the map of the Islamic world, followed the *hadith*-style and *futuh* genre of history. It was an attempt to build up the status of Arabs in general and the Egyptian Arabs particularly within Muslim history for future generations. Its emphasis was on the *hadith*s themselves, not on creating a thesis or discussing the cause and effect of particular events. He strung *hadith*s and their mostly full *isnad*s together to create topics or subjects that related to the conquest of Egypt. His object was to describe the conquest of Egypt itself, his was one of the last histories of the *futuh* genre and the beginning of the regional style of history.

The *Futuh Misr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam also gives us an insight into the mentality of the author's day in both Egypt and the greater Islamic world, and into the author himself. It shows the conflict of Muslim society between the Arab-oriented past and its influence on the Islamic empire versus a new direction for the empire which was focused on contributions and influences from other members of society. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam also reflects the conflict between being Muslim or Arab in general and belonging to a specific

region in a period when regionalism was developing, and would further develop, as the government in Baghdad and Samarra increasingly lost control of the provinces. It provides an example of several classic styles of history of the Muslim world, that of the *futuh* genre, regional genre, and the *hadith*-oriented history that would die out in the eleventh century and beyond.

Citations to Pages 9-11

APPENDIX A

CONTENT CITATIONS TO THE INTRODUCTION

Chapter I. Introduction

[1] See Appendix E for a short biography of al-Maqrizi. Hereafter the reader will be referred to the Appendix D, Glossary or Appendix E, Biographies for unfamiliar terms and names and terms not already defined in the text.

[2] Three translations of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history are as follows:
Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Conquete de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*. Translated by Albert Gateau. (Alger: Carbonel Bibliotheque Arabe Francaise, 1942).
Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *The Mohammaden Conquest of Egypt and North Africa (634-705 A.D.)*. Translated by C.C. Torrey. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901).
This translation starts with the conquests of al-Fayyum and goes up to the conquests of Musa ibn Nusayr.
The last is a translation of the section dealing with the conquest of Spain.
Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *The History of the Conquest of Spain*. Translated by John Harris Jones. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969).

[3] See Glossary for a definition of *hadith* and *fiqh*.

[4] The terms Arab and Muslim are not the same today. One does not necessarily signify the other. However, the term Arab has undergone changes throughout the centuries since the first Arab invasions of what is today the Middle East. Initially, the term Arab referred only to the desert dweller of the Arabian Peninsula. Upon the conquests of the Near East and North Africa, the term Arab continued to refer only to those who were ethnically descended from those tribes from the peninsula. Also, Arab and Muslim were practically synonymous in Muhammad's period and the early conquest period. As the conquerors mixed with the local populations and more and more locals converted, the terms took on different meanings. Obviously the term Muslim meant anyone who was a Muslim. The term Arab came to mean one who adopted Arab language, and the customs and dress that developed in the empire as a result of the conflux of various peoples. In my dissertation I use the terms Arab and Muslim interchangeably because at this early stage the Arab conquerors were generally the only Muslims in Egypt. I have had to use my judgment to decide which word to use, and where and when to use these words.

[5] The citation style used in this dissertation was the MLA style of parenthetical references. In the analysis when an explanatory citation or a content citation was needed, the style of end citations, indicated by an interpolated number within the text, at the back of the dissertation was used. Terms specific to the meaning of the translation were recorded in the same manner, while more general terms in both the translation and the analysis were explained in the Glossary and Biographies.

[6] See Glossary for a definition of *hijrah*.

[7] See Glossary for a definition of *isnad*.

Citations to pages 11-20

[8] See Appendix E for short biographies of al-Baladhuri and al-Tabari.

[9] See Glossary for a definition of *muhaddith*.
One of the books that we do contain from the father of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, at least in part, is a biography of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz, which has been edited by A. Ubayd and published in Cairo in 1927. The biography depicts 'Umar as an ideal ruler by providing examples of his services, financial policies or his relationships with his contemporaries. It is one of the oldest biographies in monograph form from the Muslim world.

[10] See Glossary for a definition of *Sunni* Islam.

[11] See Glossary for definitions of *ra'y* and *qiyas*.

[12] See Glossary for a definition of *tabaqat*.

[13] See Glossary for definitions of *qadi* and *'ulama'*.

[14] See Glossary for a definition of *Qadaris*.

[15] See Glossary for definitions of *Shi 'i* and *Shi 'ah*.

[16] See Glossary for a definition of *ijtihad*.

[17] See Glossary for a definition of *khitat*.

[18] Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futuh Misr wa' l-Maghrib li-Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam*. Edited by 'Abd al-Mun 'im 'Amir. (Cairo: Wizara at-Tarbiya wa't-Ta 'lim, 1961?).

[19] See Glossary for a definition of *naskh* script.

[20] See Appendix E for short biographies of al-Kindi and Ibn Qudayd.

[21] *Akhbar masjid ahl al-rayah* or *The History of the Great Mosque of the People of the Standard* by al-Kindi is one which was quoted by later medieval authors, but has not come down to us today. This particular work was quoted in al-Maqrizi's *al-Khitat* (ii, 246, 247; see Guest in al-Kindi, 1912, 9).

Citations to Pages 21-25

APPENDIX B

CONTENT CITATIONS TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE *FUTUH MISR*

[1] The phrase, "May God Bless Him and Grant Him Peace," is used every time the Prophet is mentioned. I will omit it hereafter in this translation.

[2] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Abd Allah ibn Wahb to Yunus ibn Yazid to Ibn Shihab.

[3] See Glossary for a definition of *hadith.*

[4] The throne, *majlis mushriq*, is translated literally as, a sitting place or throne.

[5] Translated literally as, "the Lord took vengeance with him."

[6] Translated literally as, "Indeed, you have a religion which you will not leave except for what is better than it, and it is Islam which makes the loss of another other than it sufficient."

[7] This could mean to read the Qur'an because in the Qur'an, Jesus predicted Muhammad. It could also mean that he orders them to a pure Christianity without the trinity.

[8] The word "agreement" is translated literally as, "come to a word that is just between us and you."

[9] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Rabi 'ah ibn 'Uthman.

[10] Translated literally as, He said, "To what does Muhammad summon."

[11] The Ka 'bah is also known as the "House of God" or Bayt Allah.

[12] Translated literally as, "Things remain which I think you did not mention."

[13] In this sentence the cloak, called a *shamlah*, is a striped garment. It is the type that wraps. It is made of two pieces sewed together, which a man wraps himself in. Another word for it is an *Aksiyah.*
"By whom he met of uncle and cousin" means he cared only for Muslims.

[14] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Hatim ibn Isma'il to Usamah ibn Zayd al-Laythi to al-Mandhar ibn 'Ubayd to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan ibn Thabit.

[15] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ziyad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Bakka'i to Muhammad ibn Ishaq.

[16] *Bayraha* is a type of house, or a type of land that is open with no trees, habitation or buildings.

Citations to Pages 25-29

[17] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[18] Hafn is a tribe in Egypt.

[19] The cloth of the Copts is *qabati*, a cloth known for its fineness, thinness and whiteness.

[20] The mole between his shoulders is the seal of the prophet.

[21] Translated literally as, "one of them resembled the other," meaning he could not decide between them.

[22] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Abd Allah ibn Lahi 'ah to Yazid ibn Abi Habib to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shumasah al-Mahri.

[23] Muhammad was concerned that something may be going on between Marya and this man. 'Umar, when he attacked this man, saw that he had been castrated.

[24] Not the famous historian al-Zuhri, but of the same tribe.

[25] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Marwan ibn Yahya al-Hatibi to Ibrahim ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Ad 'aj to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Zayd ibn Aslam to his father to Yahya ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hatib to his father to his grandfather.

[26] He will tell him what he wants him to convey to Muhammad.

[27] The place of the wise probably means from a wise master.

[28] A gift unique to a certain place, in this case Egypt.

[29] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Hafs ibn Sulayman to Kathir ibn Shinzir to Abu Nadrah.

[30] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Quraysh ibn Hayyan to Thabit al-Bunani.
Zi`r here means that he was the husband of the nurse of Ibrahim.

[31] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Muslim ibn Khalid al-Zanji to 'Abd Allah ibn 'Uthman ibn Khuthaym to Shahr ibn Hawshab.
This last phrase is translated literally as, "you are the most deserving of those to whom God taught his truth."

[32] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Isa ibn Yunus to Muhammad ibn Abi Layla to 'Ata ibn Abi Rabah.

[33] Sound of bad fun, as in a tavern.

[34] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibrahim ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sami to Hatim ibn Isma`il to Usamah ibn Zayd to al-Mundhir ibn 'Ubayd to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan ibn Thabit to his mother, Sirin.

Citations to Pages 29-32

[35] He is saying that it does not matter if the grave is slightly open, but for appearance sake and to do the job completely (burying Ibrahim), it should be closed.

[36] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Marwan ibn Mu 'awiyah to Isra`il to Ziyad ibn Ilaqah.

[37] The eclipse is a coincidence.

[38] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Husayn ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Ubayd Allah ibn 'Abbas to 'Akramah.

[39] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Abd al-Wahid ibn Ziyad to al-Hajjaj ibn Irtah to Abu Bakr ibn 'Amr.

[40] He prayed for the honey to be blessed and in abundance, but he never wore the clothes while he was alive.

[41] The rest of this double chain is: Musa ibn Da 'ud to Sallam to 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-Rahman to al-Hasan Malik al- 'Urani to Ash 'ath ibn Taliq to Murrah ibn al-Mutalib or al-Tayyib. The second part is: al-Qasim ibn 'Abd Allah to 'Ubayd Allah ibn 'Umar to *al-thiqah*.
See Glossary for a definition of *al-thiqah*.

[42] *Hullah* is a piece of cloth. *Yumnah* is a type of garment. It is a striped garment often called a *burd*, and in this case this cloth is particular to Yaman.

[43] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[44] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.
See Glossary for a definition of *jizyah*.

[45] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Isma`il ibn 'Ayyash to Abu Bakr ibn Abi Maryam.
See Glossary for a definition of *kharaj*.

[46] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to al-Harith ibn Yazid.

[47] Possibly the tribute.

[48] See Glossary for a definition of *Jahiliyah*.

[49] Translated literally as, "requesting the surplus in our trade."

[50] The trip takes thirty days; going takes ten days; staying, ten days; and returning takes ten days.

Citations to Pages 33-38

[51] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to 'Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Ja 'far.

[52] Translated literally as, "most incapable of fighting and war."

[53] 'Akk is possibly a place in al-Yaman. Wladyslaw Kubiak, in his book, *Al-Fustat: Its foundation and early development* (1987), defines a word 'Akk as a sub-tribe of the al-Azd, who were a south Arabian tribe.

[54] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[55] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.
Some of the tribes included in this work are the North Arabian tribes of Ghifar, branches of the Kinanah, and the Tamim. There were also North Arabian clans from the Qaysi, namely the 'Adawan, the Fahm and a subdivision called the Kinanah Fahm. Some of the South Arabian tribes include; the al-Azd, the Ghafiq, the Ghanth, the Salaman and branches of the Lakhm, such as the Banu Wa'il or the Judham. Himyar was the most famous Yamani group under who were, the al-Ma 'afir or the Ru 'ayn. Of the Kinda federation, the Tujib made up a numerous tribe that immigrated to Egypt and are mentioned in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's history quite frequently.

[56] Rafah is a town in southern Gaza, Palestine and al- 'Arish is a town in northern Egypt.

[57] Ibn al- 'As ibn al- 'As means the disobedient of the disobedient, a phrase 'Umar used often when referring to 'Amr.

[58] Translated literally as, "they withdrew as people who want to move from a camp to a nearby camp."

[59] There is no guarantee in winning the war or being able to succeed, nor does 'Amr have the confidence of the people behind him.

[60] This just means that he was large.

[61] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[62] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Abu Shurayh 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shurayh.

[63] Here, 'Amr is referring to his generosity as a leader.

[64] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shurayh to Sharahil ibn Yazid to Abu al-Husayn to a man from the Lakhm tribe.

[65] Until the best of the Muslims is killed.

Citations to Pages 38-44

[66] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shurayh to Sharahil ibn Yazid to Abu Husayn.

[67] A *jubbah* is a long outer garment with wide sleeves.

[68] A *burud* was Muhammad's outer garment.

[69] *Al-uraq* is a sweet drink.

[70] *Aksiyah* is a type of garment that wraps around the body, also sometimes called a *shamlah*.

[71] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[72] See Appendix E for short biographies of al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam, 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit and Maslamah ibn Mukhallad.

[73] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb.

[74] These men were equal to one thousand men in capability and strength.

[75] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[76] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to 'Amr ibn al-Harith and Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[77] This is confusing. Earlier the author says he came with four thousand men, but here it says twelve thousand. I think it is four thousand and those four thousand combined with the eight thousand already there makes twelve thousand.

[78] Probably this means that the Bala were in charge of the catapult.

[79] He wanted to advise 'Amr not to go through the door because he would be killed.

[80] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Mufaddal ibn Fadalah to 'Ayyash ibn 'Abbas al-Qitbani to Shuyaym ibn Baytan to Shayban ibn Umayyah.

[81] The tip of the sword could be the sharp point of any weapon. The story means they would be scattered. The story explains the violence of war and how one has to suceed and survive in order to repay a friend for the use of his horse.

[82] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Shuyaym ibn Baytan to Abu Salim al-Jayshani.
"This *hadith*" refers to the one just mentioned. The one following this is a new *hadith*.

[83] Translated literally as, "There was something between al-Zubayr and Shurahbil at the entrance, as if Shurahbil obtained from al-Zubayr something he disliked."

[84] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Abd Allah ibn Wahb.

Citations to Pages 44-56

[85] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Khalid ibn Najih to Yahya ibn Ayyub and Khalid ibn Humayd, some of who said more than others.
See Glossary for a definition of *tabi 'i*.

[86] Translated literally as, "Send us men from among you to negotiate and perhaps we will reach an agreement concerning the matter between us according to what you want and what we want so as to stop us from this battle before the troops of the Byzantines overwhelm you, when words will not be of use to us and we will not have power over that. Perhaps you will regret if the matter is contradictory to what you seek and what you desire."

[87] Even the terrain and the harshness of the mountains could not stop them.

[88] See Glossary for a definition of *jihad*.

[89] One *qantar* is equal to one *quintal*, which equals ten thousand *dinars* or 42, 330 kilograms of gold.

[90] One should give money away and just keep what one needs to eat and cloth oneself modestly.

[91] This reads either, "to ruin this land" or "because of this ruined land."

[92] Translated literally as, "Whatever you obtained you did not obtain it because of what you mentioned, and you did not appear over who you appeared over except because of their love of the world and their desire in it."

[93] One hundred *dinars* and one thousand *dinars* is the total amount, not what each man must pay himself.

[94] Translated literally as, "you will answer then in what is more detestable."

[95] "Everything goes well" is literally translated as, "if the command between us is proper."

[96] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[97] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd.

[98] This means all of Egypt, including Alexandria, had this treaty.

[99] Translated literally as, "I will not leave from what I entered into."

[100] Some will obey the king so he would not be accountable for those people.

[101] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd.
The decree is possibly some sort of treaty or the taxes mentioned.

[102] Translated literally as, "Do not give freely to the Byzantines what was given freely to me."

Citations to Pages 57-65

[103] A roan horse is a blond-colored horse.
Al-Sadafi and his horse were used as decoys.

[104] Khawkhah al-Ashqar is probably a place in al-Fustat, Egypt.

[105] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Dimam ibn Isma`il al-Ma 'afari to Abu Qabil.

[106] The meaning of the word, *ruh*, is unclear here; possibly it means comfort or soul.

[107] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.
A prayer of fear is a prayer done when someone is fearful that something bad will happen.

[108] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.
See Glossary for a definition of *rak 'ah.*

[109] These types of fortresses were built one inside the other.

[110] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Bakr ibn 'Amr al-Khawlani.

[111] Patrician is a title for a member of the religious aristocracy or for a war leader.

[112] Translated literally as, "he did not want anyone else but us."

[113] He is implying that, if Alexandria falls, there is no place left to hold these festivals, thus the empire in the Near East has fallen.

[114] Heraclius' death prevented the well-supplied Byzantines from defeating the Muslims.

[115] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd.

[116] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Dimam ibn Isma`il.

[117] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd.

[118] This means there were many women at the battle scene. They should really be afraid for their own wives because there will be a great battle.

[119] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Khalid ibn Najih.

[120] Translated literally as, "By God I wish that I not return to the fourth as long as I remain."

[121] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[122] If they are pure of heart, not greedy, he will grant them victory

[123] He is blaming 'Amr for making them weak.

Citations to Pages 65-72

[124] This means he will take charge so that 'Amr can do other things.

[125] 'Amr literally threw himself on his back and then sat up. The meaning of the second sentence is that only the early supporters of Muhammad, the Ansar, could achieve the victory.

[126] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Bakir ibn 'Abd Allah Busr ibn Sa 'id.

[127] Meaning not to disobey the pledge of peace to which Alexandria had agreed before.

[128] "I heard her walking" is translated literally as, "I heard the rustle of the cover on her thighs."

[129] See Glossary for a definition of *qiblah*.

[130] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Dimam ibn Isma`il.

[131] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Miqlas to Yahya ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Da 'ud, who he thought related on the authority of Haywah ibn Shurayh.

[132] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Musa ibn Ayyub and Rishdayn ibn Sa 'd to al-Hassan ibn Thawban.

[133] See Glossary for a definition of *fay`*.

[134] Translated literally as, "they pay what was necessary to the extant of what they needed from the land and the fields." The confusion and switching back and forth between the terms *kharaj* and *jizyah* will be discussed in the analysis section of the text marked *Legal Aspects*.

[135] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd.

[136] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[137] They broke the covenant which was why they were taken prisoner.

[138] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[139] The Balhibi is just one example of how each individual was given a choice.

[140] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Ibn Wahb to 'Umar ibn al-Harith to Yazid ibn Abi Habib.

[141] See Glossary for definitions of *dhimmi/dhimmah* and *mawali*.

[142] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Hasan ibn Thawban.

[143] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth.

Citations to Pages 72-75

[144] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Bakr ibn Mudar to 'Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Ja 'far to a man who was born and lived while 'Amr was still there.

[145] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Yahya ibn Ayyub to 'Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Ja 'far.

[146] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd.

[147] Unknown reference of this statement.

[148] Ikhna, Rashid and al-Baralus are place names. The livelihood of the Muslims means the Copts have to host them if they stop at their houses.

[149] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Yazid ibn Abi Habib.

[150] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to Abu Shurayh 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shurayh to 'Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Ja 'far.

[151] There are various forms of *zira*. For example, *zira al-amal*, *ziraal-dur*. All equal some measure of squared acreage, approximately 50,000 centimeters squared.

[152] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Yahya ibn Ayyub to 'Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Ja 'far.

[153] See Glossary for a definition of *diwan*.

[154] This means he is unapproachable; no one can reach him as they can not reach a whale at sea or a mountain goat in the mountain. He is not being responsible to the people and their needs.

[155] Probably this means that he did not respond to their needs because he had no money, so Mu 'awiyah assigned the *kharaj* to him also.

[156] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Yazid ibn Abi Habib and Ibn Wahb to 'Amr ibn al-Harith to Yazid ibn Abi Habib.

[157] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Yazid ibn Abi Habib.

[158] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to Haywah ibn Shurayh to al-Hasan ibn Thawban al-Hamdani.

[159] *Irdabb* is a dry measure in bushels, kilograms, or liters.

[160] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[161] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Yazid ibn Abi Habib to 'Ubayd Allah ibn al-Mughayrah ibn Abi Burdah.

Citations to Pages 76-78

[162] He means they should wait two generations before they divided it, which is a pre-Islamic Bedouin custom.

[163] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Yahya ibn Maymun to 'Ubayd Allah ibn al-Mughayrah.

[164] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[165] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Ziyad ibn An 'am.

[166] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to Ibn An 'am.

[167] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Abu al-Aswad.

[168] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Abu Qanan Ayyub ibn Abi al- 'Aliyah to his father. And 'Abd al-Malik to Ibn Wahb to Da 'ud ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hadrami to Abu Qanan.

[169] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to 'Iyyad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Fihri.

[170] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shurayh to Ya 'qub ibn Mujahid.

[171] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Junadah, the secretary of Hayyan ibn Shurayj, to the inhabitants of Egypt.

[172] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[173] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shurayh.

[174] Means he will pay the right price to the Copts, but the Copts have to sell it.

[175] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah to Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[176] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Yahya ibn Ayyub.

[177] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to 'Amr ibn Shu 'ayb to his father to his grandfather.

[178] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Rishdayn ibn Sa 'd to 'Aqil ibn Khalid.

[179] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

Citations to Pages 78-84

[180] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd to Yazid ibn Abi Habib. And 'Uthman ibn Salih to Ibn Wahb to al-Layth.

[181] His tent was a pavilion with no sides to it.

[182] The place was called the House of the Pebbles, not the house.

[183] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.
See Glossary for a definition of *minbar*.

[184] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Yazid ibn Abi Habib to Abu al-Khayr.

[185] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to Yahya ibn Azhar to al-Hajjaj ibn Shadad.

[186] Slaves were the first product of the markets of al-Fustat.

[187] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to Yunus ibn Yazid to Ibn Shihab.

[188] Al- 'Aqaba is a place in the Hijaz. It is the mountain pass where Muhammad met with the contingent from al-Madinah where those people became his adherents or followers, thus the mention of an oath.

[189] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[190] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Yazid ibn Abi Habib to Aslam Abu 'Imran.
One is supposed to wear the *izarah* shorter. If he does not, it shows he is very proud and snobbish.

[191] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn al-Layth ibn Sa 'd to Yazid ibn Abi Habib.

[192] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shurayh to Sa 'id ibn Abi Shamr al-Saba'i.

[193] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd to Yazid ibn Abi Habib to Suwayd ibn Qays.

[194] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Abd Allah ibn al-Mubarak to Ibn Lahi 'ah to al-Harith ibn Yazid to 'Ulayyah ibn Rabah.

[195] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Abu 'Abd al-Rahman to Mujalid.

[196] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Abu 'Ushanah.

Citations to Pages 84-92

[197] This event, whatever it was, is their proof of the validity of the *hadith*.

[198] This means it is modeled after the first *Ka 'bah*.

[199] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Hubayrah to Abu Tamim al-Jayshani.

[200] The prayer is one *rak 'ah*.

[201] The author combined the chains.

[202] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Ulayyah's father to Abu Qays, *mawla* to 'Amr ibn al- 'As.
People of the Book are usually defined as the Christians and Jews, who had scriptures that were related and similar to those of the Muslims.

[203] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Harith ibn Sa 'id al- 'Utaqi to 'Abd Allah ibn Munayn to the Banu 'Abd Kulal.

[204] The way it reads here, probably 'Antanas was responsible for the army and the *kharaj* and Maslamah collected the *kharaj* and reported to 'Antanas.

[205] It seems here that he did not remember the property was his.

[206] This phrase implies the owner of the place is the one who owns it.

[207] The followers of the Prophet still alive in the author's day.

[208] Munya Umm Sahl is probably a place name.

[209] I do not know to what this great line refers.

[210] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Hammad ibn Shu 'ayb to Mansur.

[211] If one in a role of authority does not get carried away, having power is honorable.

[212] Means it belonged to the Muslim community as a whole, not to individuals.

[213] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Abu Qabil.

[214] The gift refers to the fact that no *kharaj* was mentioned in the Qur`an.

[215] I'm not sure about the meaning of this sentence.

[216] This means Mu 'awiyah received this money as allowances for each of his soldiers.

[217] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Dimam.

Citations to Pages 93-104

[218] Falling bridges, battles, or other unforeseen calamities are the disasters to which he is referring.

[219] Means why send the camels and wealth out of the country?

[220] This means that he can not measure up to the *Amir*, 'Abd al- 'Aziz.

[221] It is not allowed that the descendants should buy from their guardians.

[222] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth to Yazid ibn Abi Habib.

[223] *Haruri* is another word for *Khariji*.
See Glossary for a definition of *khariji*.

[224] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Yahya ibn Ma 'in.

[225] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Hiql ibn Ziyad to Mu 'awiyah ibn Yahya al-Sadafi.

[226] Ibn Hisham was the author of one of the first histories. The mentioning of the name Siham means he is saying Sukham's name was not Sukham, but Siham.

[227] Allegiance to the Prophet Muhammad.

[228] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Yazid ibn Abi Habib to Ibn Shumasah to a man who related on the authority of 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Udays.

[229] Al-Maks is possibly a place in Cairo (al-Fustat).

[230] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Rishdayn ibn Sa 'd to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslamah to Ibn Wahb to Harmalah ibn 'Imran.

[231] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Harith ibn Yazid to Kuthayr al-A 'raj al-Sadafi.
Dhu al-Sawari is known as the Battle of the Masts in English-language histories of the Middle East

[232] God raises someone a degree with each prostration.

[233] See Glossary for a definition of *khittah*.

[234] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Ayyash ibn 'Abbas al-Qitbani to al-Haytham ibn Shufayy Abi al-Husayn.

[235] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Haywah ibn Shurayh to al-Dahhak ibn Shurahbil al-Ghafiqi.

[236] He does not want to be in charge of something that would lead him to corruption.

Citations to Pages 104-117

[237] The house name when translated means a porous water jar or a type of musical instrument.

[238] *Aqabin* is the name of some kind of profession.

[239] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.
Here *maks* is a type of tax of transaction. The tax is the excess money collected which the collector is allowed to retain.

[240] Here *rayah* refers to a quarter of al-Fustat where 'Amr built his *masjid.*

[241] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Muhammad ibn 'Umar to 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Ja 'far.

[242] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Maymun ibn Yahya to Makhramah ibn Bukayr.

[243] In the first line "white" means white flesh or statues of women. In the second line, having no eyelashes refers to the fact that it is indeed a statue and is not alive.

[244] This means he is a good person so nothing should be taken from him.

[245] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[246] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Khayr ibn Nu 'aym to 'Abd Allah ibn Hubayrah to Abu Tamim al-Jayshani.

[247] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Yazid ibn Abi Habib to Kulayb ibn Dhuhl al-Hadrami.

[248] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Musa ibn Wardan to Abu al-Haytham.

[249] Cuppers used to heat glass jars and stick them on a patient's skin in order to extract "bad" blood.

[250] Mu 'adh was a clan within the Mudhlij tribe. When this type of construction, so and so of so and so, occurs again in the translation it usually means a clan within a tribe.

[251] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ziyad ibn 'Abd Allah.

[252] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Abd al-Wahid ibn Ziyad to 'Asim al-Ahwal.

[253] Because 'Amr was of the Quraysh tribe.

[254] Utaqa means freed slaves.

[255] Alley of Hamd is written as Alley of Muhammad in one of the manuscripts.

Citations to Pages 117-128

[256] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to 'Amr ibn al-Harith to Yahya ibn Maymun al-Hadrami to Wada 'ah al-Hamdi.
This uncertainty is in the actual text. The author does not know whether it was a house or seat of fire.

[257] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to 'Abd Allah ibn Sulayman to Tha 'labah Abu al-Kanud.
Those ablutions make him pure enough to eat, but not enough to pray.

[258] *'Ajamiyah* means the language of the *'Ajam* or non-Arabs.
Burnus is an African hooded cloak.

[259] He is asking him to spare them out of respect for his father, Abu Bakr.

[260] He thinks he is a good guard.

[261] See Glossary for a definition of *qasidah*.

[262] Line four means he gives something but then takes it back.

[263] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to 'Utbah ibn Abi Hakim.

[264] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to al-Harith ibn Yazid.
They will not live to see the false messiah because he is a long way off.

[265] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[266] The prediction is that the mosquito-infested place that the Quraysh live will become desirable and the other place will be destroyed.

[267] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Dimam ibn Isma 'il to Abu Qabil.

[268] Based on the context, the *huwa* (he) in the text was probably a misprint or a misreading and is meant to be the verb "built by."

[269] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Rukn ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Sa 'd to Makhul.

[270] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd.

[271] Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam is talking here.

[272] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to an old man from the *mawla* of the Fahm.

[273] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

Citations to Pages 128-136

[274] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[275] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[276] The houses were for the Arab tribes, not the Byzantines, to live in when they were dispatched there.

[277] His father had appointed the deposed 'Abd Allah.

[278] In the text it reads, "*qiblah*", but this is a direction and can not be physically moved. Based on the context, it is possible that it is "*qubbah*," or dome.

[279] This statement may mean there were no marble columns in the original *khittah*.

[280] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[281] Referring to the al-Zubayr/Umayyad conflict. The second part means there should not be anything which would lead to a dispute between 'Umar, Khalid and Abu Bakr. They should live in separate places.

[282] Fihr is the father or ancestor of all the Quraysh. The second line implies the generosity of 'Uqbah.

[283] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to 'Ubayd Allah ibn al-Mughayrah.

[284] *Al-Qurt* has several meanings. It is a species of trefoil or clover, but superior in size or quality and larger in the leaves. It is eaten by horses and other grazing animals. This word could also be *al-Qurth*, which could be leaves of a certain tree that camels feed on. Another definition of *al-Qurth* is a type of tree which grows in the low plains. Or, it is a well known grain, like lentils, which ripen on trees. The area of *al-qurt* or *al-qurth* was not taxed.

[285] *Bay 'ah* is an oath of election of those who were going to elect him.

[286] In the book it reads son of his brother, or nephew, but al-Harith was a cousin to 'Umar ibn 'Ali.

[287] Aklil al-Saqab is a title meaning the son of a she-camel. It means he is compared to a new born calf, who, as soon as it is born, can eat a lot.

[288] *Faddan* is a common known quantity of land, loosely the amount that a yoke of oxen will plow in one day. Commonly defined as 333 *kasabehs* (or rods) and one third. A *kasabeh* is twenty-four *kabdahs*, and a *kabdah* is the measure of a man's fist with the thumb erect, or about six inches and a quarter. However, it varies in different times and places.

Citations to Pages 136-145

[289] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to 'Amr ibn Shurayb to his father to his grandfather.

[290] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Yazid ibn Abi Habib to Rabi 'ah ibn Laqit al-Tujibi to 'Abd Allah ibn Sandar to his father.

[291] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd.

[292] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Yazid ibn Abi Habib to Abu al-Khayr.

[293] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shurayh.
Al-marafiq is translated here as greenery or goodness, and is a word referring to abundance and blooming plants and other growth.

[294] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[295] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ishaq ibn al-Furat to Ibn Lahi 'ah to al-Aswad ibn Malik al-Himyari.

[296] *Hamin al-Nasari* is probably a Coptic holiday or feast.

[297] He is talking about the traits of the Egyptians. He says that they make good soldiers, so once they become Muslims, they will defend Islam to the day of resurrection.

[298] The *jihad* in the text is *ribat* which is a type of *jihad*. It is a state when one is always prepared to go to war. Literally it means the harness on a horse, signifying that the horse and its rider are always ready for war.

[299] The record of who settled where was not always kept.

[300] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to Yazid ibn Abi Habib to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shumasah al-Mahri.
A *mumsak* horse is one which is white on both front and hind legs on the same side.

[301] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd to Yazid ibn Abi Habib.

[302] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Marwan ibn Mu 'awiyah to Abu Hayyan al-Taymi to Abu Zur 'ah.

[303] The mother was captured in war and 'Ajla and his horseman got two shares as a result of that.

[304] An *ablaq* horse is a pi-bald black and white horse.

[305] With these mutilations, a horse is deemed unfit for riding in battle.

Citations to Pages 146-151

[306] "*Rajl*" is people who fight on foot. In the text it is mis-voweled to read "*rajul*," a man.

[307] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd.

[308] If not for 'Umar, he would still be milking a goat in the desert.

[309] In line two, *rasatiq* is some sort of government position. In line five, the things that he sees that are amazing are those that the collector consumes. He lists them in the following line. In line six, the "blanket from the screen" refers to nice houses. In line nine, the more common phrase for the sentiment that they are always together is, "we return when they return. In line ten, he is saying they should not object to sharing because it is not really their money; they did not earn it.

[310] He used these people as governors and that position gave them the power to embezzle.

[311] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Ja 'far ibn Rabi 'ah to his father to his grandfather.

[312] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Sulayman ibn Abi Sulayman to Muhammad ibn Sirin.

[313] He had horses that had offspring and then he sold the offspring.

[314] Joseph worked for one of the pharaohs. Abu Hurayrah said that he was the son of Umaymah, which is a diminutive of *umah* or slave. So, Joseph was a prophet and he is a slave. He said he was afraid two and three, meaning he would hesitate five times before he took the job.

[315] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Wahb ibn 'Abd Allah al-Ma 'afari.

[316] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Yazid ibn Abi Habib.

[317] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar to Hubayb ibn 'Abd al-Rahman to Hafs ibn 'Asim.

[318] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth to Yazid ibn Abi Habib to Abu al-Khayr.

[319] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd and 'Abd Allah ibn Lahi 'ah to Yazid ibn Abi Habib to Abu al-Khayr to Abu Junadah al-Kanani.

[320] The Sayhan and the Jayhan are two rivers in the area of Asia Minor, south of the Tauras known as Cilicia. Al-Furat is the Euphrates and the Dijlah is the Tigris.

[321] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

Citations to Pages 151-155

[322] Possibly this means they did not conduct the tradition for those three Coptic months.

[323] The day of the cross could be Easter Sunday or a celebration of the crucifixion.

[324] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.
120,000 was what he kept and was in *dinars* probably. The pick axes, brooms and other implements were possibly what went with the *jizyah*, but I am not completely sure of this sentence.

[325] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Qasim ibn 'Abd Allah to 'Abd Allah ibn Dinar.
He actually means they were physically sealed with a mark of some sort. *Ukuf* is either a type of camel or a type of saddle which is used on riding animals. More likely it is a saddle and implies here that the *dhimmis* should ride their animals side-saddle as the women do.

[326] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Anaj to Nafi' to 'Abd al-Mailk ibn Maslamah to Ibn Wahb to 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar. And 'Umar ibn Muhammad to Nafi'.

[327] *Wariq*, with a *kasrah*, is a general term for money. It means here that people with money or wealthy people should pay four *dinars*.

[328] *Midyan* or *middan* is a measure of salt water or the water exceeding from the ground. *Asqat* or *qist* in the singular means a portion or a share at the subsistence level. It can also mean a quantity of water and other things like corn, for example. Specifically it can be a measure which holds half a *sa* ' of which six make one *farq* which equal 481 *dirhams*.

[329] *Waybah* is a measurement for liquids like a liter.
Mudd (pl. *amdad*) is a certain measurement used for corn. In Muhammad's day in the Hijaz it was equal to a quarter of the *sa* ', a *sa* ' being five and one third pints. Another more quaint definition is that it equaled eight pints or the quantity that fills the two hands of a man of moderate size when he extends his arms and hands.

[330] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Sufyan ibn 'Uyaynah to Abu Ishaq.

[331] Foreigners here probably means Arabs who have settled in an area predominately populated by Copts or Byzantines.

[332] A *faddan* is 6, 368 square meters.

[333] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to Yunus.

[334] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Hasan ibn Thawban.

[335] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Yazid ibn Abi Habib.

Citations to Pages 156-170

[336] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Junadah.

[337] The treaty is fixed on the living ones. The death of an individual does not affect the amount they owed or agreed to.

[338] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to Muhammad ibn 'Amr.

[339] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[340] It is not clear what he means by the statement of the monks. They may have been exempt from tax, but I can not tell if Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam means that the rest of the Copts picked up their share of the *jizyah*. Also when he says, "and he left it as it was', this means he did not impose the *jizyah* on converts.

[341] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[342] This attests to the large population of Egypt because even in the smallest village he supposedly found five hundred men to tax.

[343] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb.

[344] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Mufaddal ibn Fadalah to his father.

[345] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah and Rishdayn ibn Sa 'd to al- Hasan ibn Thawban to Husayn ibn Shufayy al- Asbahi to his father.

[346] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah.

[347] Translated literally as, "Do not be afraid when I ask you to pay what I expect and that you deserve something to be given to you."

[348] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Wahb to Haywah ibn Shurayh to Bakr ibn 'Amr.

[349] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: 'Abd Allah ibn Wahb to Ibn Lahi 'ah.
This last phrase implies the way the actors were situated. 'Umar was standing and the people were at his feet begging for some help because of the drought. The people saw 'Umar as a bad omen because, while the Hijaz was prosperous in Abu Bakr's day, a drought occurred in 'Umar's reign.

[350] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd to Hisham ibn Sa 'd.

[351] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Sufyan ibn 'Ubaynah.

Citations to Pages 170-174

[352] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Waki 'ah ibn al-Jarrah to Hisham ibn Sa 'd to Zayd ibn Aslam.

[353] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Ibn Lahi 'ah to Abu al-Aswad.

[354] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Malik ibn Anas.

[355] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Mahdi ibn Maymun to Sa 'id al-Jurayri to Abu Nadrah.

[356] The word translated as greenery is *ghiyad*, a word used as an antithesis of the desert.

[357] Literally he said, "put it on the ribs of 'Amr," meaning to beat him.

[358] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: al-Layth ibn Sa 'd.

[359] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Muhammad ibn Khazim to al-Hajjaj to 'Amr ibn Shu 'ayb to his father to his grandfather.

[360] He cut his head off, which was the penalty for apostasy.

[361] The rest of the chain between the first and last transmitters is: Muhammad ibn Khazim to al-Hajjaj to 'Amr ibn Shu 'ayb to his father to his grandfather.

Citations to Pages 175-193

APPENDIX C

CONTENT CITATIONS TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE *FUTUH MISR*

Chapter III. Historical Background

[1] See Glossary for definitions of the terms *mawali* and *dhimmi*.

[2] Quraysh is the tribe to which Muhammad belonged in Makkah. There are many branches of the Quraysh, one of which is the Banu Kinanah mentioned in the text. Other more famous branches are the Umayyad, 'Abbasid, and Hashimi (Muhammad's branch) branches. The term banu means the people of, or the tribe of, and is used to define the various branches of a larger tribe, such as the Quraysh.

[3] According to Morimoto (1981), this tithe was called a *sadaqah* or a *sadaqat al-mal*, which is loosely translated into English as a charitable gift or voluntary contribution.

[4] See Glossary for a general definition of *kharaj* and *jizyah*. The two terms are very complicated and have various meanings in different times and places. This discrepancy will be discussed in the chapter entitled *Legal Aspects*.

Chapter IV. The Theme of Religion

[1] A published version of his dissertation is: Hamidullah, Muhammad, *Majmu 'at al-watha'iq al-siyasiyah li-al-ahd al-Nabawi wa-al-Khilafah al-Rashidah*. (Bayrut: Dar al-Irshad li-al-Tibaah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzi, 1969). Quotes from Hamidullah are taken from his book about the letters which was written in 1985. Hamidullah also wrote an article entitled: La lettre de prophete a Heraclius et le sort de l'original. *Arabica* 2(1953): 96-110.

The works he cited by his opponents are Becker's *Papyri Schott-Reinhart*, Caetani's *Annali dell'Islam*, and Noeldeke-Schwally's *Geschichte des Qorans*.

[2] See Glossary for a definition of the Hudaybiyah Pact.

[3] *Qirat* is a dry measure for weight. One *qirat* equals 0.195 grams. It was used in pre-Islamic Egypt, thus the Prophet's use of the word when predicting the conquest of Egypt.

[4] See Glossary for a definition of *Jahiliyah* and Appendix E for a short biography of 'Amr ibn al- 'As.

[5] See Appendix E for a short biography of al-Muqawqas.

[6] See Appendix E for a short biography of al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam.

[7] See Appendix E for a short biography of 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit.

[8] See Appendix E for a short biography of Maslamah ibn Mukhallad.

Chapter V. Nostalgia for the Bedouin Way of Life

[1] See Glossary for a definition of *qasidah.*

[2] Shurahbil (d. 740) was a *mawla* of the Banu Khatma who is said to have known 'Ali. He died at an extremely old age, 100 years old. He was most famous for the lists of names he accumulated regarding the companions who fled to Ethiopia during the crisis in Makkah before the *hijrah* to al-Madinah. However, he became confused in his old age and his reputation became tarnished. In his youth, for example, he was known as an expert on *maghazi* literature, particularly Badr. Later in life, if someone would not give him a gift, he would say that that person's father was not at Badr in other words indicating that one's family was not among the honorable first Muslims even if they were. Of course extortion of this sort could have serious repercussions for historical accuracy if one depended on his authority. Neither Ibn Ishaq nor al-Waqidi, two of the earliest Islamic historians, mention him among their sources (Horovitz, 1927, 552-553).

[3] See page 205 of this analysis and the Glossary for an explanation of *diwan.*

[4] Abu Salih, the Armenian, *The churches & monasteries of Egypt and some neighboring countries.* Attributed to Abu Salih, the Armenian. Translated from the original Arabic by B.T.A. Evetts with added notes by Alfred J. Butler with a map. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969).

[5] Another example of the use of archaeological evidence is the combination houses, a combination of two or more earlier houses, mentioned in the *Futuh Misr.* These can now be seen in archaeological evidence and are known as agglomerate processes. They are known from the ARCE (American Research Center of Egypt) excavations which uncovered material dating from the 850s to the 900s. In these discoveries the units never violated the street patterns. Under excavations by Gayraud one street was definitely blocked in the early period (650-750) by a building that cut athwart the street to unite two earlier houses (Scanlon, 1994, 178).

[6] As a starting point for a comparison of land holdings in early Islamic Egypt, it is interesting to note a few sources on the settlements in other *amsar,* such as al- 'Iraq or Syria and Palestine. Two articles provide information on the tribal settlements and the social make-up of the settlements in al-Basrah and other places of early Muslim al- 'Iraq: Donner, Fred, Tribal settlement in Basra during the first century AH and Morony, Michael G., Land holding and social change: Lower al-Iraq in the early Islamic period. In *Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East,* ed. Tarif Khalidi. (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1984).

Donner detailed where and when the tribes settled and traced the shifts in the social make-up of early al-Basrah due to these tribal movements and the settlements of others not associated with Arab tribes. Donner's article started with the conquest of this area and establishment of al-Basrah as a *misr.* He continued the study into the Umayyad and early 'Abbasid periods.

Citations to Pages 213-225

Morony dealt with the social change of land ownership in relation to the economics of land reclamation and irrigation, and development of uncultivated land and the demographic changes that occurred because of these activities and the introduction of East African and Indian labor as a result. His study dealt with the land grants and land use from the first Muslim settlements in this area, known as the Sawad, and continued to trace the shifts and patterns into the 'Abbasid period.

The same volume contains an essay by the editor, Tarif Khalidi entitled, Tribal settlement and patterns of land tenure in early medieval Palestine. (181-188). This article dealt with the tribal settlements and the patterns of land ownership in two *junds* of Greater Syria, Filastin and al-Urdun, from the eve of the Muslim conquest to the eve of the crusades. He was concerned with the same issues as Donner was in his article on al-Basrah. Further information on settlement and land ownership of early Muslim *amsar* and *jund* can be found in the bibliographic references of these three articles. The role of the tribes in the Syrian conquest is discussed in Donner, Fred, *The early Islamic conquests*. (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1981). Information on land tenure in al- 'Iraq at the time of the conquests can be found in Morony, Michael G. Land holding in seventh-century Iraq: Late Sassanian and early Islamic patterns. In *The Islamic Middle East 700-1900: Studies in economic and social history*, ed. A.L. Udovitch and Hinds, Martin, Kufan political alignment and their background in the mid-seventh century A.D. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2(1971): 346-367.

[7] A starting point for the archaeological information and evidence of early Muslim Egypt, particularly al-Fustat is mentioned in this citation. First of all, early excavations on al-Fustat were done by Aly Bahgat and drawings were made by Albert Gabriel. This information is recorded in *Fouilles d'Al Foustat* (Paris, 1921).

Nine seasons of excavations at al-Fustat by the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) between 1964 and 1981 form the major source for articles dealing with the archaeology of al-Fustat. The results of the last five seasons (1972-1980) are not included in Wladyslaw Kubiak's *Al-Fustat: Its foundation and early development* (1987), but are referred to in Scanlon's article (1994). These nine seasons were written up in reports labeled *Fustat Expedition: Preliminary Report* (FEPR) or from articles on these and other expeditions in the *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* (JARCE).

Recent excavations were carried out by the Institut Francais d'Archeologie Orientale (IFAO) at the previously excavated Istabl Antar under the direction of Roland-Peirre Gayraud. These excavations illuminated physical evidence from the late seventh to the mid-eighth centuries, approximately 650 to 750. The excavations of the ARCE mainly deal with the eighth and ninth centuries.

For details on these citations and their findings see George Scanlon's article and Kubiak's *al-Fustat* (Scanlon, 1994; Kubiak, 1987). Kubiak's work is still the most up-to-date for a proper understanding of the historical-archaeological sources for al-Fustat.

For the physical lay-out and architectural development of al-Fustat in later periods, especially the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods see, Goitein, S., *A Mediterranean society*. (Berkeley, 1983) and Garcin, Jean-Claude, Habitat medieval et histoire urbaine au Fustat et au Caire. In *Palais et mainsons du Caire l epoque Mamelouke*, eds. J.-C. Garcin, B. Maury, J. Revault and M. Zakariya. Paris, 1982).

[8] See Glossary for a definition of *jihad*.

Citations to Pages 226-247

Chapter VI. The Egyptian Focus

[1] Sources as recent as the late 1990s cite Petersen's book as the most authoritative on the particular subject of 'Ali and Mu 'awiyah. A recent book entitled *Religion and politics under the early Abbasids* (1997) by Muhammad Zaman reflects the 'Abbasid trend concerning 'Ali's caliphate and his right to it. He says the trend of the early 'Abbasids was to distance themselves from the *Shi 'is* while not entirely disregarding 'Ali. In his bibliographic essay in the introduction he cites Petersen's work for the 'Ali/ Mu 'awiyah conflict.

Another article by Fred Donner, Centralized authority and military autonomy in the early Islamic conquests (Donner, 1995) cites Petersen (1964 and reprinted in 1974). Donner generally accepts Petersen's theory on the evolution of the villainization of 'Amr, as does Zaman. A note by Donner said that he planned to examine the 'Amr traditions in greater detail in a separate study.

Humphrey's Qur`anic myth and narrative structure in early Islamic historiography (1989) cites not only Petersen's book, but two other articles written by Petersen, 'Ali and Mu awiyah: The rise of the Umayyad caliphate 656-661. *ActaOrientalia* 23(1959): 157-196 and Studies on the historiography of the 'Ali-Mu 'awiyah conflict. *Acta Orientalia* 27:(1963) 83-118. He also cites two other authors who deal with this subject, Siffin arbitration (Hinds, 1972) and a book by Ursula Sezgin, *Abu Mihnaf: Ein Beitrag Historiographie der Umayyadichen Zeit*. (Leiden, 1971). Hinds' article mainly deals with two different versions of the actual arbitration at Siffin and its details. He mentions Petersen's distinction about whether it was 'Amr or Mu 'awiyah who called for the trial by the mushraf or copy of the Qur`an, on a point of the sword and says that this point is of no great importance to his article. He is not concerned with 'Amr's image in this history as was Petersen. He focuses on the validity of various versions of the arbitration events. His focus is on 'Ali's camp and whether there were various factions within it. He is against any sweeping generalities about a *Shi 'i* version of events, as Petersen discusses, and their invalidity. He points out that al-Tabari's, Sayf ibn 'Umar who is noted for his *Shi 'i* sympathies does not transmit the pro-*Shi 'i* version, which claims that there were no splits in 'Ali's ranks. He also believes the real and original goal of the arbitration on the Umayyads' part was a political move to split 'Ali's ranks, whereas Petersen said that the motive for the battle and arbitration shifted through the ages of historical writing.

[2] The second caliph, 'Umar, nominated a board of six electors to choose his successor upon his death. 'Uthman's seniority determined his election over 'Ali. Subsequent to 'Uthman's murder, 'Ali was elected caliph. 'Ali's two rivals were two of the electoral board: Talha and al-Zubayr. They had followers in the Hijaz, including 'A 'isha, the Prophet's favorite wife, who perhaps still held a secret grudge against 'Ali for having questioned her fidelity a long time ago. The two parties met in battle, the Battle of the Camel (656), where the Makkan side was defeated. The Battle of Siffin (657) (talked about in the section entitled *The Mu 'awiyah/ 'Ali/ 'Amr ibn al- 'As Conflict*) was between 'Ali's supporters and his rival Mu 'awiyah. The Battle of Nahrawan (659) pitted 'Ali against a splinter group from his own ranks, the *kharajis*. 'Ali was later killed by a *kharaji* to avenge the previous battle. All of these events are the major events of the beginnings of the civil wars and lead to centuries of conflict in the Muslim world.

Citations to Pages 247-251

[3] The people of Egypt are both Copts and Arabs. Those people who were asked to send a portion of everything that they produced are most likely Copts, because at this early stage in Muslim Egypt the Arab conquerors were still not permitted to sow the land themselves.

[4] A citation for Severus' chronicle is, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, Arabic text edited and translated by B. Evetts, *Patrologia Orientalis* (1910). I have been able to obtain the volume of the years before the Arab invasion and the volume that starts a few centuries after the establishment of Arab rule. However, I have not been able to obtain a copy of the volume concerning the years of the Arab conquest. Therefore, quotations taken Severus concerning these years are those used by Butler in his *Arab conquest of Egypt* (1978).

[5] As cited in Butler (184-185), E. Amelineau. *Histoire de Patriarche Copte Issac* and *Life of Samuel* published by Amelineau in *Monuments pour servir a l'Histoire de l'Egypte Chretienne aux ive-viie Siecles.*

Chapter VII. Legal Aspects

[1] Most of the scholars who study the history of Muslim historiography or the development of Muslim history through the ages will include the statement that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam was more of a jurist and less of an historian. Torrey believes this, as he states in both his 1922 edited volume and his translation of parts of the North African section in the *Biblical and Semitic studies* (1901).

John Harris Jones (1969),who translated the portion of the *Futuh Misr* dealing with the conquest of Spain, mentions in his introduction that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam has been questioned often as to his merit as an historian. In dealing with the *Futuh Misr* as just one book mentioned in hundreds of other histories from the Muslim world, authors like Rosenthal and Tarif Khalidi (1968, 1994) cite Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam as more of a jurist and less of an historian. His focus, they say, had juridical-theological motives.

[2] There are numerous works on the study of *hadiths* and how they can be interpreted. One dominant theme of these studies is that many of the *hadiths* used by medieval historians, including Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, were fabricated and imposed on histories of earlier times such as the conquest, to justify or legitimize policies or customs of the medieval period.

The most cited names in any article or book concerning this debate are Schacht (1967), Juynboll (1983) and Noth (1994). All three deal with the questions of where *hadiths* began, when they were written and recorded, their relations to political disturbances and turmoil, and how these aspects affected the content of the *hadiths*. Other authors as recent as the 1990s continue to examine these ideas. Frantz-Murphy (1984), cites Noth and indicates it is generally believed now that jurists of the Umayyad period introduced a whole new series of traditions retroactively to the time of the Arab conquest. In her case, these traditions dealt with the economic studies of conquered land in Egypt. Morimoto, Dennett and Hill (1981, 1973, 1971) also deal with this aspect. The articles on land tenure in the early Islamic provinces in *Land tenure and social transformation* (1984) edited by Tarif Khalidi deal with these problems as well; one of those articles is Noth's cited by Frantz-Murphy. Noth also discussed "introduced" *hadiths* and issues other than economics that have become legendary in the medieval literature. Robert Brunschvig claimed that in the North African section of the *Futuh Misr*, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam was trying to impose Maliki views on the conquest of this area (Brunschvig, 1942-1947).

Citations to Pages 252-292

[3] For all definitions of measurement terms and rates of currency see Appendix B, Content Citations to the Translation.

[4] The debate and arguments over the meanings of *jizyah* and *kharaj*, how they were used and what they meant to medieval historians as well as to people of the conquest era began in the early twentieth century with J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (1902); C.H. Becker, *Beitrage zur Geschichte Agyptens unter dem Islam* (1903) and Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam* (1912). The debates continued in the 1950s with leading works such as Dennett, Daniel, Conversion and poll tax in early Islam (1973). The conflicting sides continue to be discussed and analyzed in the late twentieth century, as can be seen in works by economic historians such as Morimoto, Kosei, *The fiscal administration of Egypt in the early Islamic period* (1981).

[5] See Glossary for a definition of *fay`*.

Chapter VIII. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's Use of Hadiths

[1] See Glossary for a definition of *tabi'i*.

[2] See Appendix E for short biographies of Hasan al-Basri and Muhammad ibn Sirin.

[3] See Appendix E for a short biography of Abu Ishaq.

[4] See Appendix E for short biographies of Ibn Ishaq, al-Waqidi and Ibn Sa`d.

[5] See Appendix E for a short biography of Aban ibn 'Uthman.

[6] The source cited for al-Suyuti is his history entitled, *Tarikh al-khulafa`*. An English translation of this work is: Al-Suyuti, *History of the caliphs* by Jalalu'ddin a's Suyuti translated from the original Arabic by Major H.S. Jarrett. (Calcutta: J.W. Thomas, Baptist Mission Press, 1881).

[7] See Glossary for a definition of *al-thiqah*.

[8] See Appendix E for a short biography of Manuel.

Chapter IX. Conclusion

[1] See Glossary for a short biography of Sayf ibn 'Umar.

[2] See Glossary for a definition of *maghazi*.

APPENDIX D

GLOSSARY

Dhimmi/Dhimmah- *Dhimmah* means a protected status. *Dhimmi* is one who is protected. Usually the term *dhimmah* refers to the Christians and Jews, also known as People of the Book, who under this status were "protected" and "respected" by the ruling Muslim government as long as the *dhimmis* paid certain taxes. The *dhimmah* status was expanded in the early years to include Zoroastrians, Berbers and other people.

Diwan- The word *diwan* has several meanings. It can mean an institution or bureau, an anthology or a register. In this case it indicates the register of Arab tribes and individuals who were to receive money from the state revenues. See p. 205 of the analysis for more details. Later the *diwan* referred to individual offices of the central government, such as *diwan* of police or finance.

Faqih (pl. fuqaha`)- An exponent of *fiqh*. One who studies the Shari 'ah and enacts the decisions of his studies.

Fay`- This can be defined as land taken from those who surrendered without a fight. Or, from those who have vacated their homes and fled. Or, from those who made peace by agreement to a tax payment or other money or a tax on property in order to save themselves. Or, land taken after the laying down of arms after a fight. It is also defined in general terms as booty of war. Historians believe that under the Umayyads the term *fay`* and the booty taken in its name was considered property of the Muslim community as a whole. See Analysis, under *Legal Aspects*, for more details.

Fiqh- Jurisprudence or the discipline of elucidating the Shari 'ah and the resultant body of laws that occur from this process.

Hadith- *Hadith* is a report, saying or action of the Prophet, or a combination of these reports in a collection. There are two parts to a *hadith*: the *isnad* and the *matn*. The *isnad* is the chain of transmitters who have related the report, theoretically going back to the Prophet. The *matn* is the actual event that is being related.

Hijrah- The word means flight in Arabic. It signifies the flight of Muhammad from Makkah to al-Madinah in 622. This date marked the beginning of the Islamic calendar.

Hudaybiyah Pact- This was the pact made in 628 at a place called Hudaybiyah near Makkah. It was the peace agreement reached between the Quraysh and other tribes of Makkah and the Prophet and his followers in al-Madinah. The treaty placed both Makkans and Madinans on equal terms and thus paved the way for the conversion of the Makkans and for Muhammad's triumphal entry into Makkah.

Ijtihad- Independent reasoning. This is conducted by a learned scholar who uses *qiyas* or analogy to solve a problem not covered in the Qur`an or *hadiths*. His conclusion is the conclusion based on reasoning.

Isnad- This is the series or chain of people who related the anecdote about the Prophet and pass it on to the next person. *Isnad* will be discussed in further detail in the section of this analysis entitled, *Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's Use of Hadiths*.

Jahiliyah- This term is usually rendered as, "time of ignorance." This does not mean that Muhammad or the Muslims spoke of the people in this time as a barbarous and ignorant people in general. It means a time in Arabia when there was no knowledge of the inspired prophet and the revealed book of the true religion, Islam.

Jihad- Often rendered as, "holy war." *Jihad* is sometimes added to the five pillars of the faith, making a sixth pillar. The others are the profession of the faith (*shahadah*), prayer (*salah*), almsgiving (*zakah*), fasting (*sawm*) and pilgrimage to Makkah (*Hajj*). One of the duties of the caliph was to protect the *Dar al-Islam* (land of Islam) from the *Dar al-Harb* (war territory), defending and expanding it if necessary. However, most Muslims will agree that there are two *jihads*, a lesser and greater *jihad*. The lesser is the holy war mentioned above and the greater *jihad* is the struggle within oneself to become a better Muslim.

Jizyah- The most common definition for *jizyah* is the poll tax paid by *dhimmis* in a Muslim-governed society. However, as we will see in the section of the analysis entitled, *Legal Aspects*, this meaning may or may not be a later meaning.

Kharaj- Usually called a land tax. This meaning is thought to be a term used later in financial administration under the 'Abbasids. The term occurs only once in the Qur`an (23:74) and then in a sense of a remuneration rather than land tax. This term and its relation to the term *jizyah* is discussed in detail in the section of the analysis marked *Legal Aspects*.

Khariji- This word in Arabic means one who secedes or one who goes out. This group began when a number of 'Ali's supporters rejected his acceptance of arbitration with Mu 'awiyah at Siffin. They left his camp, proclaimed themselves the only true believers and believed in a right to do away with the others, including 'Ali. A *kharaji* assassinated 'Ali in 661.

Khitat- A *khittah* (pl. *khitat*) is a piece of land someone marks off to make known that he intends to build a house on it. It is given by the permission of someone in authority. It was the way Caliph 'Umar organized the earliest settlements of the *misrs*. He assigned parcels of land to each tribe or a combination of tribes, and in that way the early sectors of the *misrs* were formed.

Maghazi- From the Arabic word, *ghazw*, meaning raids or campaigns. An early form of history in the Muslim world. This form of history recorded the raids or campaigns of Muhammad. This was sometimes a monograph in itself or a portion of a biography of the Prophet's life.

Mawali (sing. mawla)- This word essentially means client. The *mawali* were non-Arabs who had converted to Islam from other religions. In the Umayyad period they were considered to need protection and guidance in the ways of Islam and so many were attached to a prominent Arab family, thus the use of the word *mawali*.

Minbar- A pulpit or set of steps in mosques from which preachers deliver sermons. Originally, a *minbar* was only allowed in the Prophet's mosque in al-Madinah. Later, after the expansion in the provinces, a *minbar* was allowed only in the main mosque of the

capitals. Today there are no restrictions and each mosque may have a *minbar* or choose to do without. It is an optional addition to the mosque.

Muhaddith- A transmitter of *hadith*. One of those in a chain who heard a *hadith* or saw a written form of a *hadith* and passed that knowledge to the next person or link in the chain.

Naskh script- Was a rounder, more cursive style of script than the angular *Kufi* script that was used earlier on monuments and in manuscripts and documents. *Naskh* script was used in ordinary writing, printing and later, type set. In the late Umayyad and 'Abbasid periods, scribes were trained in *naskh* script in the state-sponsored schools.

Qadaris- A religio-philosophical movement in the Umayyad period. Their name derives from the Arabic word, *qadar*, or power. The *Qadaris* were one of the earliest schools of philosophy in Islam and betray Greek and Christian influence in their belief in free will or power to human beings.

Qadi (pl. qudah)- A judge in a religious court, in other words in a court under Islamic law.

Qasidah- Medieval Arab lexicographers explain *qasidah* as a poem with an artistic purpose, but differ as to the meaning of artistic purpose, as do modern critics. Generally, it is called an ode and was the only finished type of poetry that existed in pre-Islamic Arabia. There are seldom more than one hundred verses or less than twenty-five verses and they are rhymed in an intricate, repetitive way. Many, but not all, of the odes follow a pattern of a traveler coming upon a desolate habitation, an erotic interlude, the fatigue of the traveler's journey, praise of his riding animal and finally the panegyric for whom he composed the ode in the first place.

Qiblah- This means the direction that a Muslim must face in order to face Makkah during the prayers. The direction obviously varies depending on one's location in the world.

Qiyas- This is a way of reaching new juridical decisions over matters not specifically covered in the Qur`an or *hadith*. It involves drawing a conclusion based on an analogy of the current situation to a similar one in the Qur`an or *hadith*.

Rak 'ah- *Rak 'ah* is a ritual in Muslim prayer. One *rak 'ah* consists of bending the torso from an upright position, followed by two prostrations.

Ray`- Means using personal judgment in working out jurisprudence rules.

Shi 'i/Shi 'ah- *Shi 'i* is the term used for one who adheres to the *Shi 'ah* party or the party of 'Ali. Today it refers to a group of Muslims apart from orthodox Islam (see *Sunni* Islam). Within that group are several sub-groups. Its origins began because certain followers of Muhammad believed the leader of the Muslim community should be descended from 'Ali, as he was Muhammad's closest male relative and husband to his daughter and father to his grandchildren. They continued to believe this throughout the dynasties, thus the name of *Shi 'ah*.

Sunni Islam- *Sunni* Islam today is a designation for the vast majority of Muslims, and it is called the orthodox or mainstream view. This group and the "unorthodox" sects grew out of differences in interpretation of the Qur`an, *hadiths*, the amount of reasoning and analogy to be done with these sources and because of politics of the early periods of Islamic

history. Many schools of thought developed around the late Umayyad and early 'Abbasid period. Four survived and today hold the following of most Muslims and make up the laws and belief system deemed orthodox. These four schools are Maliki, Shafi 'i, Hanbali and Hanafi.

Tabaqat- The *tabaqat* form of history was a list accompanied by short biographies of various professionals. The earliest *tabaqat*s mainly listed those people in religious sciences. Later, calligraphers, historians and other professions were added. The lists of names were usually arranged by profession or alphabetically.

Tabi 'i (pl. tabi 'un)- These people are the second generation and beyond from the companions of the Prophet.

Al-thiqah- This word literally means "reliable sources." Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam used it when he did not mention the names of his sources specifically.

'Ulama' (sing. 'alim)- A general word for a learned man in the field of Islamic legal and religious studies.

APPENDIX E

BIOGRAPHIES

Aban ibn 'Uthman- (640- *ca.* 720) The first man cited as a collector of *hadiths*. He was known for his *hadiths*, but his name was absent in *sirah* literature lists. Aban was on the Madinan side of the fight against 'Ali and took part in a campaign to avenge the deaths of al-Zubayr and Talha. He was presumably free of political holds until he was appointed governor of al-Madinah by the Umayyad caliph, 'Abd al-Malik, and was deposed by this caliph as well. He was credited with including the *maghazi* of the Prophet in his writings on *hadiths*.

Abu Ishaq- (d. 804) *Muhaddith* of Kufan center. Also he was known as al-Farazi. He was a *muhaddith* whose works, according to the author Ibn al-Nadim, contained numerous errors. He died at al-Massiah. Among his works are an al-Sir which contains historical events and traditions.

'Amr ibn al- 'As- (d. *ca.* 663) He was of Qurayshi birth and a contemporary of Muhammad. His reputation in history is one of a wily, shrewd maneuveror. Even before the events for which he became so famous (the conquest of Egypt and the 'Ali/Mu 'awiyah conflict), he foresaw the victory of Muhammad and Islam and went over to Islam even before the capture of Makkah. This dissertation will offer another aspect to his character for historians to consider, that of pious hero.

Al-Baladhuri- (d. 892) He was probably born around Baghdad and spent most of his life there. He was said to have been a translator of Persian and so Persian origin has usually been assigned to him, though in his works he espouses the rights of the Arab dynasty. He is called al-Baladhuri, one who becomes deranged from the use of *baladhur* (a marking-nut). However, it was his grandfather that was known to have died from this affliction. His two greatest works were his history, *Futuh al-Buldan* (*Conquest of the Countries)* and his *Ansab al-Ashraf* (*Book of Lineages of Nobles*). The first is his history of which a condensed version comes down to us today. It was one of the last of the conquest histories. The second is a genealogical study of the Prophet and his kinsmen, including the Arab dynasties of the Umayyads, 'Abbasids and even the 'Alids.

Basri, al-, al-Hasan- (642-728) A preacher of the Umayyad period in al-Basrah. He belonged to the class of *tabi 'un*. His father was a Persian captive taken to al-Madinah where he was manumitted by his owner. Hasan took part in the campaigns of the conquest of eastern Iran. His fame rested on his sincerity and upright religious personality, especially his sermons warning fellow citizens against sin. Only a few fragments of these sermons have survived. He fearlessly criticized the rulers of al- 'Iraq, including al-Hajjaj. Because of this criticism, he had to go into hiding until al-Hajjaj's death. He continually lectured on the dangers of worldly goods and earned the respect of his contemporaries.

Ishaq, ibn- Muhammad ibn Ishaq (*ca.* 704-768) wrote the first complete book of history that we have from the Islamic world. His grandfather, a Christian Arab, was taken to al-Madinah as a slave and there converted under the patronage of Qays ibn Makhramah ibn al-Muttalib. Ibn Ishaq served at the 'Abbasid court, but had no connection to the Umayyad one. His book, *Kitab al-maghazi*, is about the Prophet and is divided into three sections, one on revelations, one on his Makkan days and one on his Madinan days. We do not

contain the original work, but have a version by Ibn Hisham (d. 834), an Egyptian historian, who altered it somewhat.

Al-Kindi- (897-924) He was most likely born in Egypt as one of his *nisbahs*, al-Misri, attests to. His education was through tutors, one of whom was Ibn Qudayd. Al-Kindi was of the Hanafi school of law. He wrote numerous books, some of which are lost, including one on the judges and governors of Egypt [*Kitab al- 'umara' (al-wulah) wa kitab al-qudah*].

Manuel- A Byzantine general under the reign of Emperor Constans II (641-668). He was sent in 643 to take Alexandria back from the Arabs after 'Amr ibn al- 'As (Alexandria's Arab conqueror) was recalled from Egypt. He was able to take Alexandria and the Arabs by surprise, but was defeated when 'Amr was recalled to contend with him.

Al-Maqrizi- (1364-1442) Egyptian historian of the Mamluk age. He was born in Cairo to a well-to-do scholarly family and thus received a thorough education. He opted for the Shafi 'i school of thought in his education and succeeded in a variety of administrative and scholarly functions, such as deputy judge or preacher in the Mosque of 'Amr. He traveled and taught in Damascus as well. His works are numerous and appear to have been planned on a grand scale. Certainly, the one we are concerned with was the *al-Khitat*, which dealt with all aspects of Egypt from history to geography, topography and economics.

Maslamah ibn Mukhallad al-Ansari- (d. 682) He was a companion of the Prophet and he took place in the conquest of Egypt. He opposed 'Ali and was loyal to 'Uthman. Subsequently, he opposed the arrival of 'Ali's governor, Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr, who had a hand in the murder of 'Uthman. Maslamah faithfully served 'Amr, while 'Amr was governor of Egypt, and lived quietly under the two successors. Some sources claim he was elected governor of Egypt in 667 and maintained the position until he died.

Al-Muqawqas- Often identified as Cyrus, the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria who had both religious and administrative duties. The term itself is simply a title and is the cause of the controversy. Most modern historians believe that it was not commonly used in Egypt or Byzantium and that it only refers to the patriarch in Egypt during the Arab invasion (i.e. Cyrus). Medieval Arab authors confused this issue by adding the title to all pre-Islamic Byzantine rulers of Egypt. See Butler for more detail (1978, 168-194, 508-526).

Qudayd, ibn- (844-925) He is described as having been a celebrated and reliable relater of tradition. It is indicated by some evidence that he conducted a re-edition of the *Futuh Misr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam rather than being simply a transmitter of this work. He is the medium for more than half of the traditions in the *al-Wulah* of al-Kindi and more than one-third of those in al-Kindi's *al-Qudah*.

Sa 'd, ibn- Muhammad ibn Sa 'd was born in 784 in al-Basrah as a *mawla* to an 'Abbasid branch of the Quraysh. He wrote one book, which combined a biography of the Prophet and a *tabaqat*. The biography dealt with all aspects of the life of the Prophet, including his childhood. We have it in its entirety and thus it is of great importance. The *tabaqat* dealt with *tabi 'un* and companions and others close to the Prophet.

Sirin, ibn Muhammad- Called by Ibn Sa 'd as a trustworthy *muhaddith* who inspired confidence. He was born in 654, a few years before the end of 'Uthman's caliphate, and was a friend and contemporary of Hasan al-Basri. He died in the same year as al-Basri,

728. Ibn Sirin's father had been taken prisoner by Anas ibn Malik, who was ordered by Caliph 'Umar to set him free. Ibn Sirin's mother was a slave of Caliph Abu Bakr, and was held in high esteem by the community. Ibn Sirin was a merchant and at one time a secretary to Anas ibn Malik. He was widely renowned for his piety and for the reliability of his information. Ibn Sa 'd also deemed him a trustworthy *muhaddith*. He was also known as one of the first Muslims able to interpret dreams, a *mu 'abbir*, although this skill was eclipsed by his fame as a *muhaddith*.

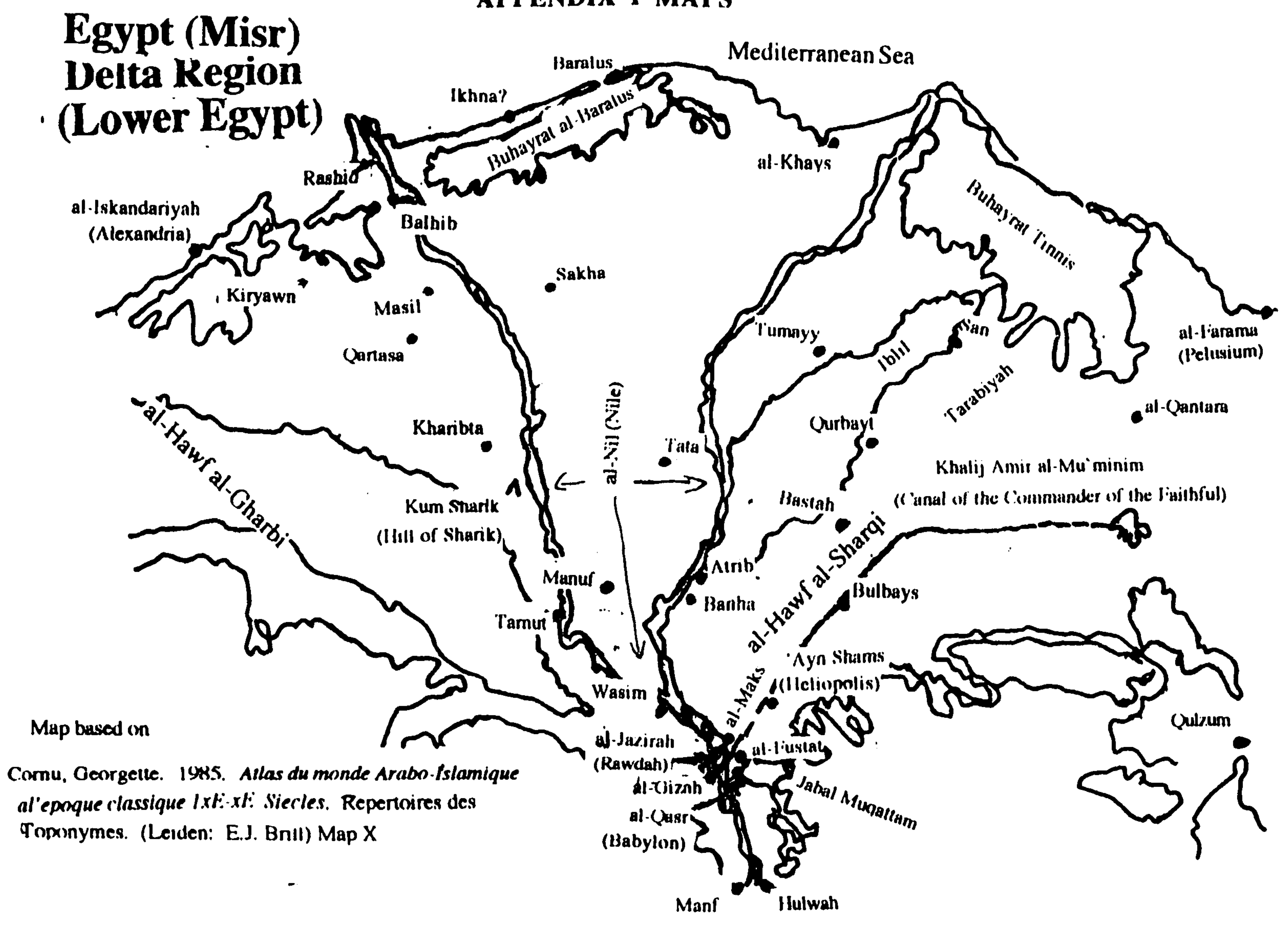
Sayf ibn 'Umar- (d. 815) He was Kufi in origin, and became well known and died in Baghdad. Among his books are *al-Jaml* (*The Camel*), *al-Futuh al-Kabir* (*The Great Conquests*) ;and *al-Riddah* (*The Apostasy*).

Al-Tabari- (d. 923) He was born to a moderately prosperous land owner in Tabaristan. Indeed, throughout his travels he received money to support him in his traveling or his studies. Whether his family was indigenous stock in Tabaristan or descendants of an Arab family is unknown. His education and travels took him through al- 'Iraq, the Levant and Egypt. Upon returning to Baghdad, he took up a life of teaching and authorship. He had numerous works, the two most famous being his *Kitab al-rusul wa al-muluk* (*Book of prophets and kings*), otherwise known simply as his History, and his Commentary on the Qur`an. His history is universal in format and was meant to be much larger than it was. The work's fame spread and led others to write continuations to it.

'Ubadah ibn al-Samit- (586-654) He was portrayed as a pious man. He witnessed important events, such as the oath of 'Aqaba and participated in the conquest of Egypt. He was the first governor of judges in Palestine and died there in either Jerusalem or al-Ramlah. His *hadith*s are in accordance with the standards of al-Bukhari and Muslim, and he is one of the most predominant of the companions of the Prophet.

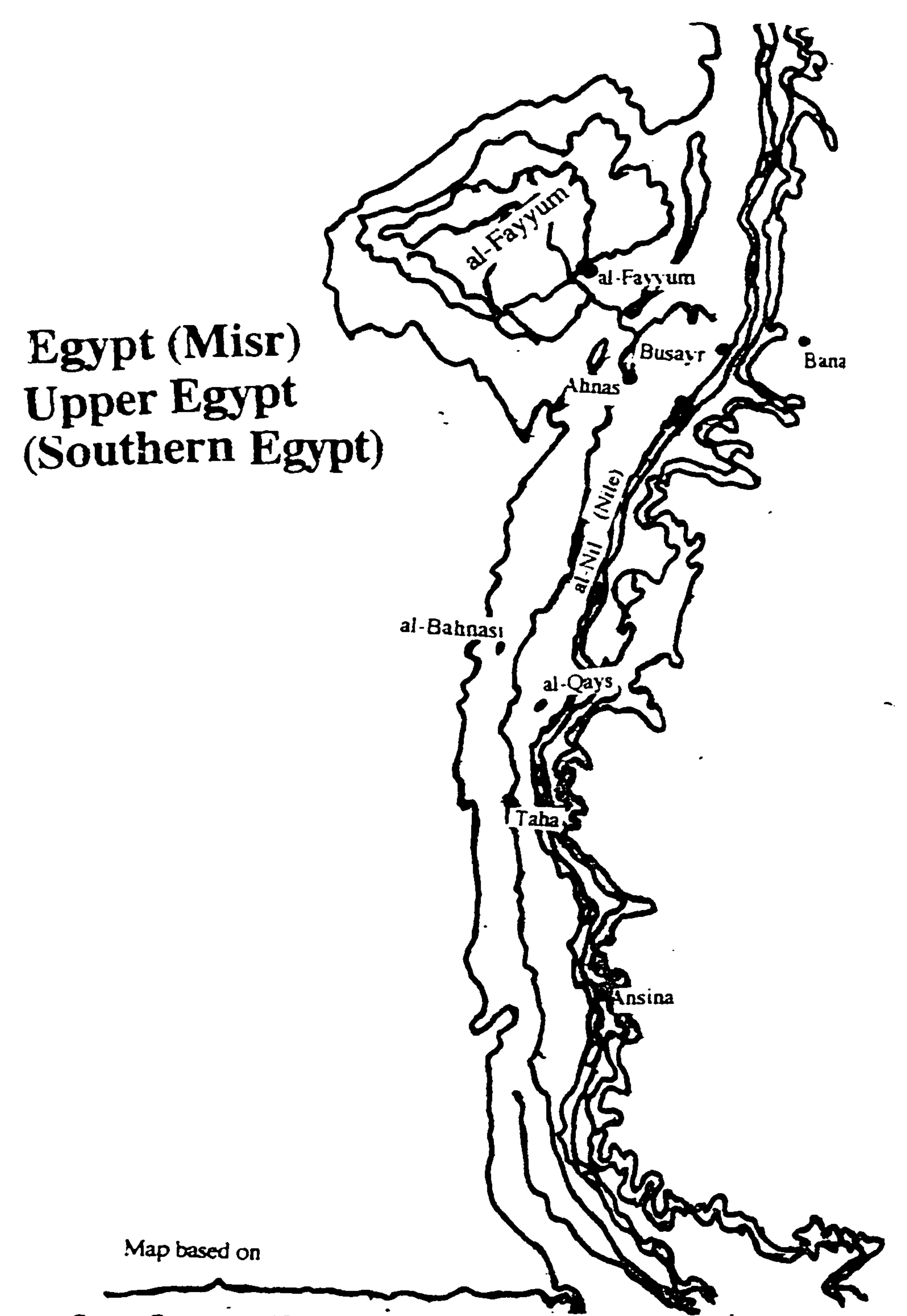
Al-Waqidi- (d. 822) He was a *mawla* belonging to the Madani sept of the Banu Aslam and is often called al-Aslami. According to one of his pupils, his mother was a great-granddaughter of a Persian captive in al-Madinah. He was recommended as a guide to Caliph Harun al-Rashid and made a favorable impression. When in need of aid, he journeyed to the 'Abbasid court and served there until al-Ma`mun's reign when he died. He was a zealous collector of information and was the first to write a biography style work, which was the basis for his pupil's (Ibn Sa 'd) work. Al-Waqidi's work was called *Kitab al-Maghazi* and was devoted to the Prophet's life.

Al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwam- (594-656) He was one of the first to draw his sword for Islam as he submitted to Islam at age twelve. He was also the son of the Prophet's paternal aunt. He witnessed numerous battles, such as Badr, Yarmuk and al-Jabiyah under 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. He was among those whom 'Umar appointed to settle the caliphate after him. Not only was he a fighter, but a well-to-do merchant as well who suceeded to properties which were sold for approximately forty million dinars. He was very tall so that when he rode his feet touched the ground. As for the rest of his physical appearance, he had very little facial hair, but a great mane of hair on his head and a dark complexion. Thirty-eight *hadith*s of the Prophet are attributed to him.

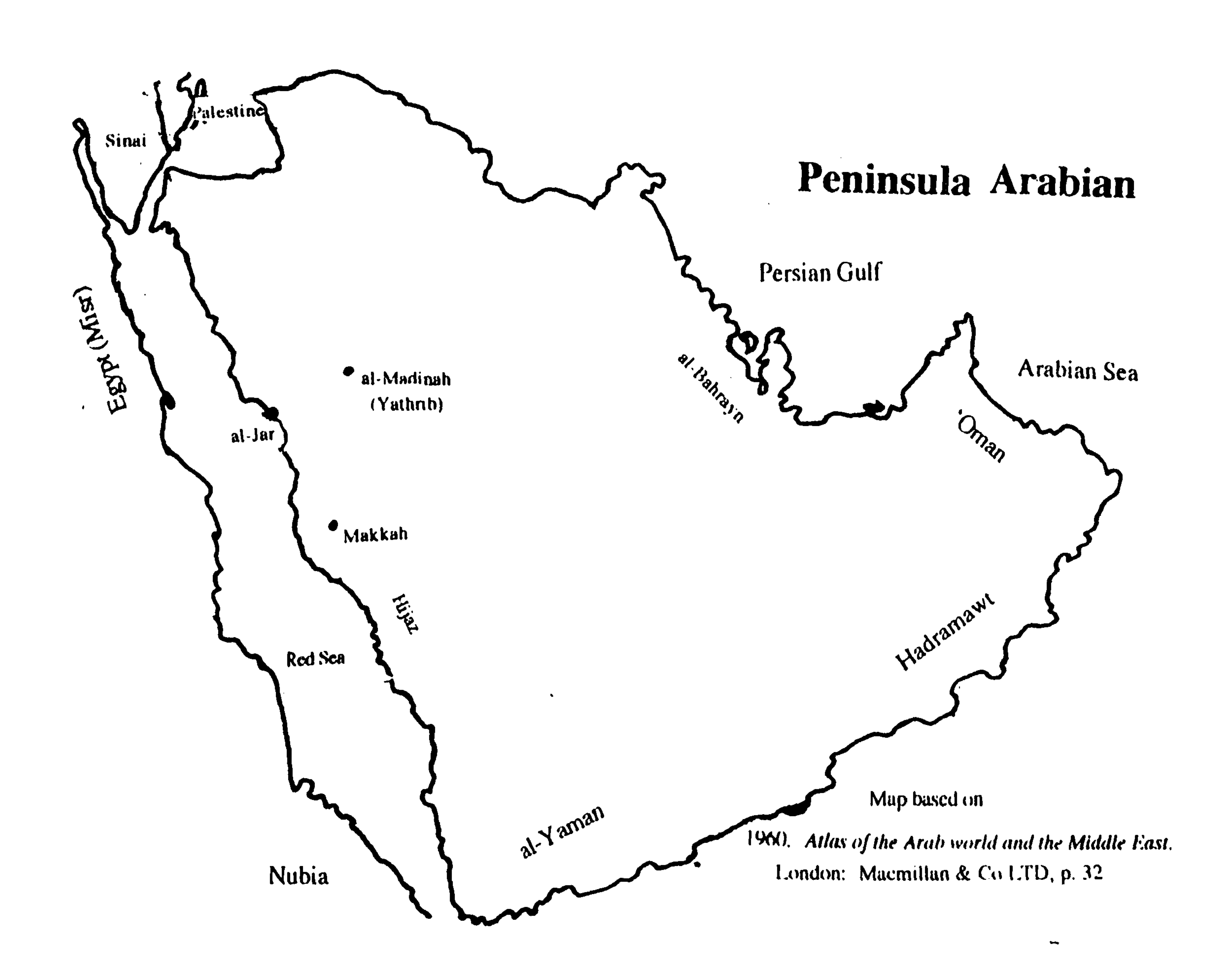


Map based on

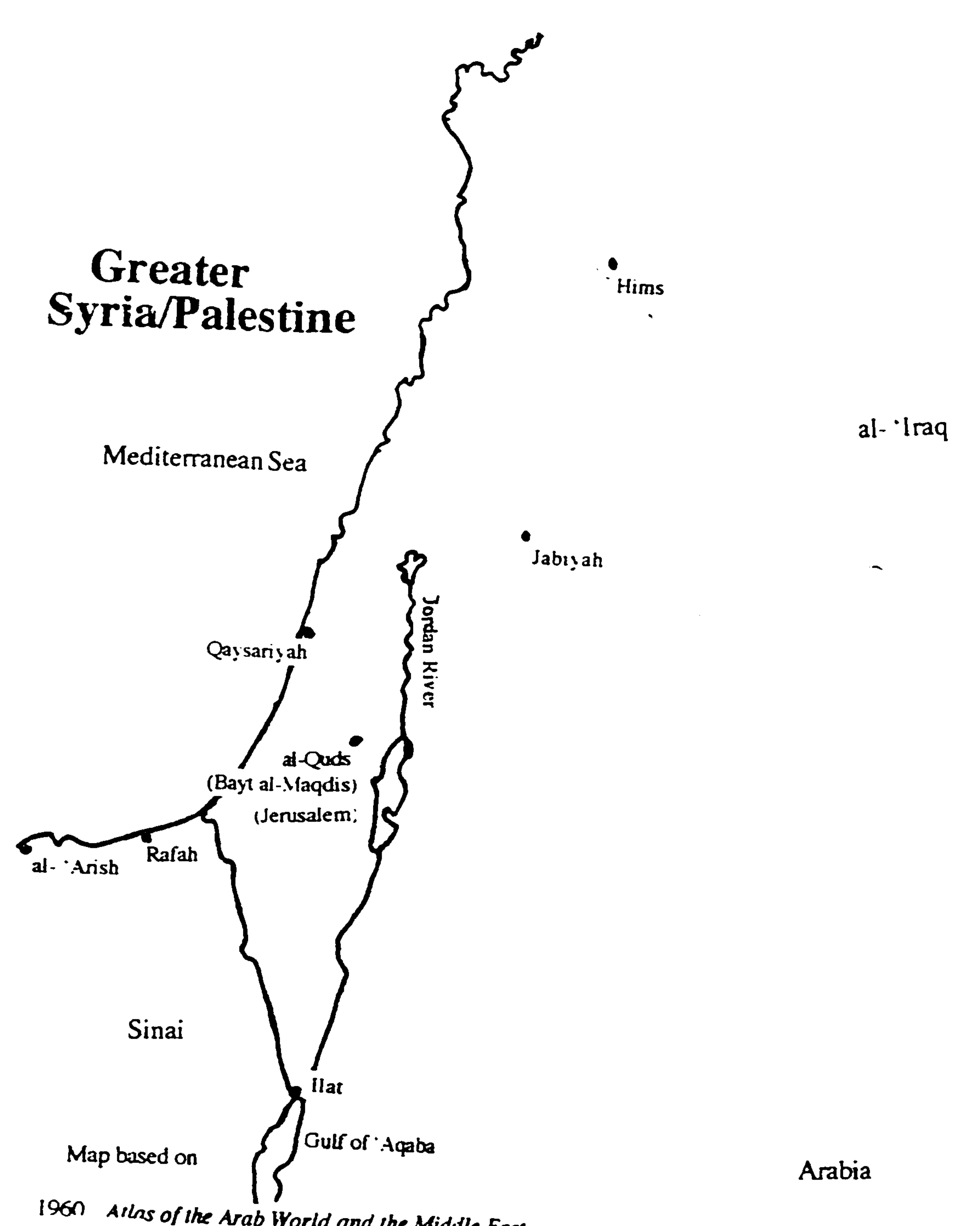
Cornu, Georgette. 1985. *Atlas du monde Arabo-Islamique al'epoque classique IxE-xE Siecles.* Repertoires des Toponymes. (Leiden: E.J. Brill) Map X



Cornu, Georgette. 1985. *Atlas du monde Arabo-Islamique al'epoque classique IxE-xE Siecles.* Repertoires des Toponymes. (Leiden: E.J. Brill) Map X



Map based on
1960). *Atlas of the Arab world and the Middle East.*
London: Macmillan & Co LTD, p. 32


Greater
Syria/Palestine
Hims
al-`Iraq
Mediterranean Sea
Jabiyah
Jordan River
Qaysariyah
al-Quds
(Bayt al-Maqdis)
(Jerusalem)
Rafah
al-`Arish
Sinai
Ilat
Gulf of `Aqaba
Arabia
Map based on
1960 Atlas of the Arab World and the Middle East.
London: Macmillan & Co LTD, p. 22

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IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

